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# USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

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2 March 1984

# USSR REPORT

## POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

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## INTERNATIONAL

### IDEOLOGY IN REAGAN'S LATIN AMERICAN POLICY CRITICIZED

Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 11, Nov 83 pp 14-27

[Article by A.K. Pushkov: "The Ideological Factor in the Latin American Policy of the Reagan Administration"]

[Text] Since the Reagan administration has been in office in the US, there has been a substantive change in the role of the ideological factor in Washington's foreign policy strategy. This has been demonstrated primarily by placing, for the first time in American history, foreign policy at the service of ideology (and not the other way around, as previous administrations have done). The proof of this is that militant anticommunism has been elevated to the rank of state policy in which anti-Soviet interpretations and postulates are given first place within the system of foreign policy priorities, and are transformed into the decisive criterion in the development of the global and regional strategy of the USA.

What, then, is the essence of such an "innovation" on the part of the present occupants of the White House? As a rule, the role of the ideological factor consisted of developing a conceptual approach that served as a basis and a general, comprehensive foundation for the development of the overall foreign policy course of the United States (i.e., it was the world outlook on the entire range of international problems and, consequently, it was the primary factor for the formulation of foreign strategy) and, strictly speaking, for propaganda that manifested itself in the international arena in the form of various specific actions and campaigns directed at achieving definite foreign policy purposes and goals. It goes without saying that the functions of the ideological component of Washington's foreign policy have not weakened, but on the contrary, have grown stronger, as was clearly demonstrated by the organization of massive propaganda campaigns primarily directed at achieving short-range and medium-range international political goals. A major role in all this was played by the "reorganization" of the ideological methods adopted by Reagan ("think tanks," foundations, USIA, etc.) and his even greater connection with CIA activities. Furthermore, the foreign policy ideology of the Reagan administration is also unique in its comparatively frequent changes in its propaganda argumentation in accordance with its goals of adjusting to a rapidly changing regional political situation.

This, however, is not the point of the matter. The present "secondary" role of foreign policy in relation to ideology is not a mere happenstance. The

reason for it lies in the crisis of the entire ideological framework of American capitalism, which is seen in the clash of liberalism and neoconservatism, and in which, eschatologically speaking, the black-and-white concept of the world and the comprehension of the processes that occur in it are growing in strength. As a result, foreign policy becomes not only a camouflage for this crisis, but also a means of resolving it by any available method. Due to this "capital repair" to the ideological pillars of American capitalism, all of mankind and the fate of peoples in various regions of the world are at risk. In other words, US imperialism, in the name of "saving" its "ideals," is turning foreign policy into a barbaric means of destruction for modern civilization.

American imperialism has also reserved a most important position for ideology in its Latin American policy. In the foreign policy formulations of the State Department and the National Security Council, the "militant informational policy" in this region is considered as important as military and economic aid programs to allied regimes and as important as US efforts in establishing new military groups and organizations in this part of the world. (1) This approach is linked, on the one hand, with US reaction to processes taking place there and, on the other hand, with the unique characteristics of Latin America's geopolitical position, including Central America, and the role that is assigned to the states of this continent by the Reagan administration's global strategy.

The American administration gives a key role to propaganda resources even when accomplishing a "high priority" task, such as attracting countries of the region into joining the administration's anti-Soviet "crusade." The White House believes that a unified anti-Soviet front of all countries of the West should begin with the unification of the "two Americas," i.e., with the "deep rear area." (2) This premise largely predetermined the nature of President Reagan's trip to Latin American countries in December 1982.

The transformation of Latin America in recent years into one of the main targets of Washington's foreign policy propaganda was caused by the above reason and by a number of other specific reasons. One of them consists of attempts to mobilize all foreign policy resources, including the ideological, in order to counteract the process of revolutionary changes on the continent, a process which, after the overthrow of the dictatorial regime in Nicaragua, is causing extreme alarm among the American ruling class. Another, no less important reason consists of the Reagan administration's attempt to "base" the present policy of the US on direct use of military force beyond its own borders; to return to a policy of intervention, not only in the internal affairs of Latin American states, but a policy having the goal of putting pressure on foreign policy positions of these states.

Finally, through an increase in its ideological activities, Washington hopes to compensate for the generally weakened position of the US in Latin America and to overcome the bankrupt traditional postulates of "Pan-Americanism" and the observable -- as admitted by American ideologues themselves -- growth of alienation between the US and the countries of the region.

Thus, the fundamental goals which direct American imperialism in Latin America, and which correspond to the contents of their ideological camouflage, (with some simplification) can be characterized, on the whole, as a struggle against Cuba; the drive to overthrow the revolutionary-democratic government of Nicaragua and suppress the liberation movement in Central America; strengthen the regimes of military-police dictatorships; and the improvement of relations with leading countries of the region.

The ideological basis of the Latin American policy of the current American administration was formulated when the Latin American policy of the Carter administration was severely criticized by the ideological representatives of the more aggressively disposed faction of the American monopolistic bourgeoisie. Well-known for its idea that the end of America the Great had come and its belief in America's "prophetic mission" in the world, this faction of international big business took for the basis of its ideological platform the sum of the myths and doctrines about the so-called Soviet threat, and when applied to Latin America, included international terrorism allegedly practiced by the USSR and directly threatening US interests. In this connection, very revealing are the arguments set forth by an ideologue of American neoconservatism, a professor of political science, Jeane Kirkpatrick, (3) who, right to the time Reagan was elected, had been associated with an American private institute known for its rightist-conservative orientation.

In its criticism of the previous administration, this faction first of all attacks the conceptual approach, or as it calls it, the "ideology" that lay at the basis of the Carter policy in Latin America. An especially great part of its anger is directed at the liberal reform direction of this approach, expressed in two well-known reports of the "Linowitz Commission" and in a number of speeches by representatives of the previous administration. Categorically declaring that the USSR and Cuba are conducting "subversive activities" against the countries of this region, and primarily against those Central American regimes that are friendly to the US, Kirkpatrick has announced that the attempts of the Carter administration to achieve "progress" and "democracy" in these countries under existing conditions were tantamount to forgetting about "US national interests."

Kirkpatrick blames Carter for one of the greatest defeats of the US in Latin America -- the fall of the Somoza regime in Nicaragua -- which she, not without nostalgia, called "the most stable political regime in Central America." (4) According to Kirkpatrick, the policy of "human rights" "interfered with an active American response" to events in Nicaragua; in other words, it interfered with organizing armed intervention in that country and allegedly facilitated the coming to power of forces "inimically disposed toward American interests and American policy." (5) This same policy, according to her, facilitated the "destabilization of the governments of El Salvador and Guatemala" and led to the "fall of American power in the region." This open indignation from one of the principal ideologues of the Reagan administration against the Carter policy on "human rights," as applied specifically to Latin American countries, is tied not only to the reaction with regard to revolutionary events in Nicaragua, in which this policy, of course, is not to "blame" at all, but in keeping with the present administration, it is a cynically Great Power approach for protecting US "interests" in this region.

In order to guarantee support for his course, especially from the Congress where there is open discussion about the danger of having the administration switch over to direct military activities in this region, the White House has taken a course of whipping up unheard of hysteria and a military psychosis. From the lips of the president himself are now heard not only the usual thoughts about the threat to the security of the United States, but also the following unprecedented declarations: "The Russians and the Cubans are conducting activities from a base which is called Nicaragua. We are speaking about real aggression on the American continent." (6) In addition to this irresponsible and primitive demagoguery, more "weighty" arguments are also used. Thus, representatives of the administration keep repeating the thesis that if the US is not able to "defend itself" in Central America, then it cannot count on winning in some other place, and this, according to them, is equivalent to the weakening and destruction of the American system of alliances and the emergence of a direct threat to the security of the United States. Staking everything on his Central American policy, the Reagan administration is stubbornly insisting that the matter concerns the testing of the stability of the entire doctrine of "global deterrence," which is the pivotal point of the present foreign policy strategy of the US.

Today it is completely unacceptable in Washington with regard to "human rights" to criticize military dictatorships in Latin America. This policy had made it difficult for the US to do business with these regimes, as well as to have close military cooperation. Of course this criticism had nothing to do with any special attachment of the Carter administration to the concepts of democracy, but was a means of providing before the world a greater credibility in the campaign for "protecting human rights" on a global scale. In that big push, made for this purpose by the Carter administration in its international strategy, the US turned out to be somewhat isolated in many respects, at least outwardly, from the more repressive Latin American regimes.

For the Reagan administration, with its emphasis on military strength as a basis for achieving foreign policy goals, the campaign for "protecting human rights" lost part of its attraction, at least to the extent that it would interfere with the policy of getting closer to dictatorships in every way, since they are considered the most reliable allies in the anti-communist "crusade." For this reason the well-known "moralism" of Carter was evaluated by the initiators of this "crusade" in the context of "ideals," which run counter to the strategic interests and "national security" of the US.

The logic of the "crusade" does not include another aspect of the "human rights" policy either, which consisted of the intention of Carter's administration to give military and economic aid to Latin American countries, depending on the extent to which bourgeois democracy was developed in these countries. Indisputably this question was not a manifestation of political altruism either, but rather reflected the effects of the "Vietnam syndrome" on the greater part of the US ruling circles and was formulated under the influence of a number of unsuccessful policies that faced the United States and concerned direct use of armed force and military support to unstable anti-populist regimes. Linking American aid to problems of "human rights," was supposed to have "motivated" military dictatorships to transform



themselves into bourgeois democratic forms of government, to "awaken" the more repressive and unpopular regimes toward "political modernization," and to draw to power those opposition bourgeois forces which would not be against American force, but would guarantee the interests of the US, and would be against dictatorial forms of government.

It is generally known that the real policy of the Carter administration was also directed by other concepts, although in official government declarations priority for propagandistic ideas was always given to "human rights." This question was skilfully turned into a criticism of the Carter administration's Latin American policy by its enemies in the US. Thus Kirkpatrick, applauded by the extreme right, declared that "the rules of the Carter policy regarding human rights made it impossible for Somoza to effectively resist his enemies." (7) An analagous propaganda device also began to be used by the Reagan government in restructuring the Latin American strategy of the US. "It was easy for the administration," writes P. Sigmund in FOREIGN AFFAIRS, "to change priorities and declare that the public condemnation of governments with which the United States had military alliances (through the Rio Pact) and political alliances (through the OAS) constituted a loss for the international position of the US." (8)

At the same time, this was neither a tactical element nor a conjuncture in the policy of the new administration and the circles that supported it. It is not difficult to discern the changing mood of the majority of the US ruling class that was behind the extremely "sharp" accusations directed against the Carter administration. Having sanctioned Carter's "human rights" policy and the orientation toward mostly non-military, indirect and more flexible methods for guaranteeing American expansion than had been used before, the influential circles of monopoly business, having experienced doubts in the effectiveness of these "new" methods and being drawn to the traditional policy of "the big stick," made their final choice after a number of strategic defeats experienced by the US in the world arena, primarily in Nicaragua and Iran. The direction of this choice was shown as early as the very beginning of 1980 by the aggressive interventionist "Carter doctrine." When the Reagan administration came into office, the beginnings of "reform" in the Latin American strategy of the US, even those having extremely inconsistent, limited and basically propagandistic forms which existed in Carter's policy, were cast aside once and for all. Priority was given to what was familiar to US imperialism, that is, forceful methods of preserving US "strategic interests" and their ideological continuity.

Characterizing the so-called "Reagan Doctrine" for Latin America, the French newspaper LE MONDE DIPLOMATIQUE wrote: "The basic outlines of this 'Reagan doctrine' are the revival of close ties with 'allied regimes,' even if they grossly violate human rights, to give a new push to diplomatic, and possibly, even a military offensive against Cuba, and to neutralize Sandinist Nicaragua by using Honduras as a jumping-off base." (9) The most important component of the Reagan foreign policy ideology became the propagandistic camouflage of preparations for direct US military action in Latin America. Senator Howard Baker, who is at present the Senate majority leader and close to Reagan, formulated the problem in the following manner: "Whether you like it or not, American interests extend throughout the entire world... We should have the

capability to send American forces wherever they may be needed, in the numbers necessary, and supply them with enough power to accomplish any mission they may be given." (10)

Accordingly, the Reagan administration is aiming its ideological campaign, on the one hand, at completely overcoming the "Vietnam syndrome" and receiving the broadest possibly support for its policy within the country itself, and on the other hand, at "justifying" its interventionist activities on an international scale in order to link Latin American states, as well as other Western countries to these activities if the opportunity presents itself. From this stems Washington's heightened propaganda activity, based on a number of mass campaigns, each one of which is directed at fulfilling a specific foreign policy function.

Above all, myths about the "Soviet threat" and "Soviet expansion" have become components of the entire US aggressive strategy, including the strategy in Latin America. As applied to the Latin American region, this propagandistic postulate was developed in the well-known "Santa Fe document" prepared by a group of experts from right-wing conservative US "brain trusts" and has become the program declaration of the Reagan policy with regard to countries of the region. In accordance with the declarations of the authors of this opus, permeated with pathological anti-communism, the USSR is allegedly striving at establishing its "supremacy" over Latin America and, together with Cuba, is directly threatening the "defenseless southern flank" of the US. The Caribbean Basin, they declare, is the "strategic soft underbelly" of the United States that has already turned into a "Marxist-Leninist lake," "dotted with Soviet satellites." What draws one's attention is the fact that in many of Reagan's speeches the "thesis" of this "document" is repeated almost word for word. According to the American president, the Soviet Union with the help of Cuba is "aiming not only at El Salvador, but it seems to me, at all of Central and possibly, South America and, in the final analysis -- I am convinced of this -- also at North America." (11)

The purpose of the "Santa Fe document" and its subsequent variations is to create a military psychosis, "justify" some kind of a "right" of the US to use force and intervene in the internal affairs of states in that region at the discretion of the US and on the pretext of defending them from "the slavery of international communism," and to create a long-lasting concept among Americans to the effect that military force is the only reliable means of protecting their vital interests. By a concerted effort in spreading the thesis about the "Soviet threat," the American administration is also counting on disrupting mutually advantageous relations between the USSR and Latin American countries and achieving a strengthening of its own position in the region, primarily by creating -- under the aegis of the US -- new military blocs, forcing Latin American countries to accept military "aid," and increasing US military presence.

Although the myth of the "Soviet threat" serves as the greatest general cover for Reagan's "new interventionism" and hegemonic policy in the countries of the region, modifications of this policy, such as the legend about "international terrorism," are subordinated to more specific requirements of the administration's policy in Central America. It is under the banner of



the "struggle against international terrorism" that US military intervention takes place in El Salvador, as well as the support of counterrevolutionary forces that are thrown into Nicaragua.

Within the framework of this campaign developed by the ideological experts of the present administration, the liberation struggle of Central American peoples is depicted as activities of groups of "rebels" and "terrorists," allegedly financed and armed by the Soviet Union and Cuba. Accordingly, events in El Salvador are presented as the result of "foreign interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign state." (12) Moreover, as announced in the Congress in March 1981 by former Secretary of State A. Haig, the revolution in Nicaragua and the struggle of the insurgents in El Salvador constitute elements of a "communist conspiracy" with regard to Central American countries that is based on a "four-stage operation" against the governments of Nicaragua, El Salvador, Honduras and Guatemala. (13) After Haig's departure this theme was picked up by other administration leaders, including the president himself, who has accused the Soviet Union of "playing dominoes" and has called "for an end to the infiltration of terrorists into America."

The goals of this lie-filled campaign are evident: To create an impression that US interference in the affairs of these countries is "lawful," and to justify its course of active support to bloody anti-populist regimes. Simultaneously, the ideological inspirers of this course of action are exerting special efforts to overcome anti-military sentiment that is still quite strong in the US, as well as the disillusion with the means and methods that use force to resolve the internal problems of developing countries, and also to create an impression that it is expedient to provide military support to the Salvadoran junta and to aggressive activities against Nicaragua. The achievement of these goals is especially important because both in the US and in the West there is a sharp battle that has continued, mostly on the question of Reagan's reaction to the Central American problem and the wisdom (from the point of view of long-range political interests) of establishing full bloc relationships with tottering repressive regimes of this regional zone. Meanwhile it has been noticed recently that Reagan's Central American policy is becoming increasingly unpopular and there is growing criticism of it, which may have far-reaching consequences for his administration.

It is well-known that American leaders have emphasized more than once that they are examining the Central American question as a "test case" for the entire strategy of "containing communism" and as a test of the strength of the pivotal point of the Reagan international policy. Because of this, it is not by chance that Kirkpatrick, in attempting to obtain the maximum possible support for this strategy, prefers to ignore the truly popular, democratic nature of the Nicaraguan revolution and insists that the Somoza regime "was overthrown by a small group of terrorists, behind whom stood the Cubans." (14) She is also insisting, in every way possible, on a drastic increase of military aid to dictatorships close to the US, believing this is the only method that responds to "national" interests.

In doing this, Kirkpatrick is pressing on the "favorite sore spot" of American ruling circles, namely, the interests of US "national security," in

other words, the interests of American monopoly capital in Latin America. "Let this sound unbearably old-fashioned, but facing us is a plan to establish a communist Central America," she intones. "If this plan materializes, it will have the most serious consequences for our security and the security of our European allies..." (15) In addition, there is the idea that the US is better off dealing with the military than with forces which could do away with the military. "Vietnam," Kirkpatrick declared in an article that Reagan liked a great deal, "should have taught us ... how dangerous it is to try to be a midwife for democracy when the birth is taking place during a partisan war." (16)

The campaign for "democracy and public diplomacy," announced with pomp by the White House in February 1983, and constituting a part of Reagan's "crusade for freedom," has become the third ideological mainstay for the policy of the present US administration in Latin America. The basic goal of this campaign is to find moral justification for US policy in Central America.

The contents of this campaign, the basics of which were developed by American ultra-rightists as a unique alternative to the Carter "human rights" policy, in many respects can be boiled down to the so-called dichotomy of "authoritarianism - totalitarianism." Within this framework, despite facts known to the whole world, it alleges that the victory of liberation movements in countries such as Nicaragua, South Vietnam and others, supposedly led to the establishment there of "totalitarian dictatorships" and to a much greater infringement of democratic rights and freedoms than existed under previous "authoritarian" regimes. For substantiation, they refer to the fascist Pinochet dictatorship in Chile (!) that is supposedly characterized by "elements of pluralism" and "remaining bits of freedom." One of the leaders of American neo-conservatives, Norman Podhoretz, bases his thoughts on such essentially fascist-promoting and extremely anti-democratic positions. "Inasmuch as we come out on the side of freedom," he writes in the journal COMMENTARY, "we should prefer rightist authoritarian regimes to the totalitarian states of the communist world." (17)

This is essentially the doctrine of "communist totalitarianism," taken by the ideologues of the Reagan administration from the ideological arsenal of "cold war" days and elevated by them to the ranks of official dogma. From this doctrine it is but one step to a full justification of any bloody deeds perpetrated by anti-populist governments which are considered "friends" of the USA. Thus the president himself goes so far as to declare the Salvadoran junta an "imperfect democratic government." "We believe that in El Salvador we are supporting a government that is trying to improve society in the best interests of the people." (18) Also placed in the same category by the Washington "crusaders" is the government of Guatemala, where, by admission of even the conservative press, "power is held by a rightist dictatorship without any hint of democracy" (19) and where the number of victims of political terror by the authorities reaches 25 persons each day.

Deliberating in this manner, the Reagan administration reestablished full relations between the US and Chile. Using the same reasoning, the administration is trying to enlist the greatest possible support throughout the world for its Central American policy. This aspect comprised the gist of

Secretary of State Geo. Shultz's speech on April 17, 1983, entitled "The Struggle for Democracy in Central America." "We cannot, in good conscience, look the other way," Shultz declared demagogically, "when democracy and human rights are challenged in countries very close to us, and when they depend on our help."

Notwithstanding substantive and visible differences, the program for "democracy and public diplomacy" is, according to several signs, the successor to the Carter "human rights" campaign. First of all, it is tied to the fact that the "human rights" program, in which anti-Sovietism predominated from the very start, also greatly attracts the present leadership of the White House, which would not turn away from a plan to use this ideological weapon in the struggle to influence people. This leadership, however, hurriedly removed from the "human rights" program every single aspect, no matter how small, which could interfere with US open support of regimes that have totally discredited themselves.

The second reason consists of the fact that certain circles of the American ruling class continue to look at the problem of "human rights" as an important ideological weapon in the struggle against socialism, a weapon that is not conditional or tactical, but strategic in nature. Representatives of these circles assert that not only a military threat comes from the USSR, but allegedly an ideological one as well, which has to be resisted. "In today's world," writes, for example, T. Buerghenthal, one of the adherents of this approach, "ideology is as sophisticated a weapon as any that can be found in the military system. A wise policy in the area of human rights gives the US an ideology that most clearly differentiates us from the Soviet Union and seriously undermines the ideological attraction of communism." (20) Criticizing the Reagan administration in a most severe tone because it has been ignoring the "human rights" program because of consideration for US "allies," Buerghenthal points out that "if we do not recognize the political and emotional significance of the human rights movement, we shall be turning away from the only real advantage that we have in the struggle to control Soviet expansion and the struggle against its influence in developing countries." (21)

Finding similar opposition to its ideological course, Washington decided to perform a cosmetic operation and announced that the US will "do everything possible" to have "human rights" observed in "allied countries"; however, it will achieve it mainly through "quiet diplomacy" and in such a way that it will not indirectly facilitate their being weakened in the face of "totalitarian forces." Reagan spoke about this in detail when he appeared before the joint session of the Senate and House of Representatives on April 27, 1983. American observers agreed, however, that it was doubtful that any kind of change in the position of the present administration lay hidden behind these promises. "Notwithstanding talk about using quiet diplomacy' to promote human rights," writes P. Sigmund, "the administration is less inclined to manipulate policies in order to promote civil and personal freedoms in friendly countries.... Latin America was given to understand that the former concern about democracy and freedom has been replaced by a mixture

of traditional concepts in the areas of security and militant anticommunism, for which American policy has been criticized so long by Latin American intellectuals and democrats." (22) Leaving the author to his own conscience regarding his thoughts on the "concern" of the US for freedom and democracy, it should be admitted he has basically defined correctly the ideological machinery that is moving Reagan's policy in Latin America, which the administration is unsuccessfully trying to hide with demagoguery about the devotion of the US to the concepts of democracy.

In the long-range plan, the campaign for "democracy and public diplomacy" and "quiet diplomacy" are aimed at creating, in a number of Latin American countries, an ideological-political apparatus for cultivating public opinion, which Reagan characterized in his "crusading" speech in the British Parliament on June 8, 1982 as an "infrastructure democracy -- a system of a free press, trade unions, political parties, universities," etc. What he was really talking about was establishing, for American money, a powerful ideological infrastructure inside Latin American states that would serve as the basis for forming a unique pro-American fifth column, which would assist in furthering US interests in future ideological and political expansion south of the border. By directly foisting American stereotypes and values, political institutes and ideological organizations on these countries, the ruling circles of the US are also counting on strengthening the power of those forces in Latin America which are closely connected with American monopoly capital and create a broader socio-political base within this region in order to activate its hegemonic course. It is by no coincidence that the Reagan administration set aside rather significant sums of money for this purpose: \$20 million in 1983 and \$65 million in 1984. (23)

It should be noted that all the propaganda noise of the Reagan administration and the comparative diversity of the ideological tricks used have not brought about the expected results. As written in THE NEW YORK TIMES, people in the White House are beginning to realize that the majority of Latin American states, especially during and after the Malvinas crisis, "does not share their view of the world and do not at all hope for a return to the days of American supremacy." The current Washington "moralists" were also unsuccessful in foisting their ideas and dogmas on the majority of Americans, and this was true not only of broad segments of the population, but also of political circles. There is increasingly sharp criticism in the US with regard to interference in the affairs of El Salvador, aggressive acts against Nicaragua, and unqualified support of the governments of Guatemala and Honduras. Many leading scholars and public figures have pointed out that Reagan's policy in Central America may turn into a "new Vietnam" for the US, not to speak of the fact that this policy is greatly undermining American influence in the region, placing the US on the same footing with repressive and extremely unpopular forces. The Washington version of the theme of a "communist plot" is heard with no less skepticism in the US and even with more skepticism in Western Europe: "Neither the personal intentions nor the alarmist declarations of President Reagan were able to mobilize support for the government from the Congress or from American public opinion." (24)

The reason for this lies not only in the Washington leaders' extremely distorted understanding of international events in general and Latin American

events in particular, not only in the particularly shortsighted nature of the propaganda campaigns they have initiated, but -- and this is probably the most important -- in the total failure of their policy of relying on military force as the main instrument for resolving existing problems that face Latin American countries. The "big stick" policy that the Reagan government is again trying to praise is not new; the US used it at the beginning of the 20th century and it reached its apogee in the years of the "cold war." "What is new," as LE MONDE DIPLOMATIQUE correctly notes, "is that the US can no longer act with impunity as in the past in the region that had been for such a long time its exclusive domain." (25) "In Central America, as nowhere else, the administration is facing limited opportunities for American military power," writes the US NEWS AND WORLD REPORT. (26)

Analysis of the ideological component of US policy in Latin America reconfirms the extremely narrow conceptual approach of the Reagan administration toward problems of Latin America and its very vicious nature in the propagation of its new variation of "containing communism" -- a strategy that was conducted by the US during the "cold war" years and one that, in the final analysis, suffered a crushing defeat. At the same time, it is impossible not to see that the modernization of the ideological arsenal of the US Latin American policy is serving more and more as a factor that increases tension in the region and undermines opportunities for its peaceful development.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. See, for example, the NSC document on "American Policy in Central America and Cuba through Fiscal Year 1984," THE NEW YORK TIMES, April 7, 1983.
2. US NEWS AND WORLD REPORT, December 13, 1982, p. 9.
3. The journal NEW REPUBLIC called Kirkpatrick "the most forthright articulator of the Reagan administration's philosophy." NEW REPUBLIC, August 2, 1982, p. 35. According to the American press, Reagan once announced in reference to her article, "Dictatorships and Double Standards," that dealt with problems of Washington's Latin American strategy, that in it she had most accurately reflected his own views. TIME, No. 1, 1981. It is widely thought that it is to this article that Kirkpatrick owes her appointment to the position of US Representative to the UN. Kirkpatrick's substantive role in developing the Latin American strategy of the current administration is also noted in THE NEW YORK TIMES, March 9, 1983. Kirkpatrick stands out because of her extreme anti-communism even among the ideologues who advocate a "hard line" for the US in the world arena. She belongs to that comparatively small, but influential group of foreign policy "theoreticians" that is inclined toward examining all international events and problems of American foreign policy through the prism of total confrontation with the Soviet Union, the "Soviet threat," and the existence of a "world communist conspiracy." About this group, which to a great extent formulates current White House policy, C. Wright, a correspondent for

the London NEW STATESMAN, wrote the following: "For them, the enemy in all cases and all places is the Soviet Union." NEW STATESMAN, London, March 13, 1981, p. 7.

4. COMMENTARY, New York, vol. 71, No. 1, 1981, p. 33.
5. COMMENTARY, vol. 68, No. 5, 1979, p. 35.
6. LE MONDE, Paris, July 20, 1983, p. 6.
7. COMMENTARY, vol. 71, No. 1, p. 36.
8. FOREIGN AFFAIRS, New York, vol. 60, No. 3, p. 650.
9. LE MONDE DIPLOMATIQUE, Paris, August 13, 1981.
10. H. Baker, "No Margin for Error. America in the Eighties (New York: 1980), p. 220.
11. US DEPARTMENT OF STATE BULLETIN, vol. 81, No. 2049, p. 12.
12. Ibid., p. 21.
13. See: TIME, No. 13, 1981, p. 24.
14. COMMENTARY, vol. 71, No. 1, 1981, p. 35.
15. THE WASHINGTON POST, April 20, 1983.
16. COMMENTARY, vol. 68, No. 5, 1979, p. 38.
17. COMMENTARY, vol. 71, No. 4, pp. 41-42.
18. US DEPARTMENT OF STATE BULLETIN, vol. 81, No. 2049, 1981, p. 11.
19. FINANCIAL TIMES, London, November 16, 1982.
20. VITAL SPEECHES OF THE DAY, vol. 47, No. 13, New York, p. 416.
21. Ibid.
22. FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 60, No. 3, 1982, p. 655.
23. See: THE WASHINGTON POST, February 24, 1983.
24. LE MONDE, July 19, 1983, p. 3.
25. LE MONDE DIPLOMATIQUE, December 6, 1981.
26. US NEWS AND WORLD REPORT, February 1, 1982, p. 23.

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## INTERNATIONAL

### SALVADORAN INFORMATION AGENCY DIRECTOR INTERVIEWED

Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 11, Nov 83 pp 106-111

[Interview with Notisal Armando Herrera, director of the Salvador Information Agency: "Unity in Battle Is a Guarantee of Victory"; date, place and occasion of interview not given]

[Question] How would you characterize the current situation in countries of Central America and the Caribbean Basin?

[Answer] In our time, basic conflicts of a global significance are growing deeper. These include conflicts between capitalist and socialist countries, as well as between developed capitalist countries and developing states. As is well known, this situation is becoming more acute, and this is reflected in the crises that constantly arise in different parts of our planet. The greatest crisis was certainly the war in Vietnam. The latest events in the Near East, as well as in countries of Central America and the Caribbean Basin should be really examined from the same point of view.

The most important factor that predetermined the origin of the present situation -- even though there was already a manifestation of a structural crisis in our region -- was the victory of the Cuban revolution. After the consolidation of socialism in the first country of the Western Hemisphere, our peoples for the first time began to believe in the reality of changing the system of coercion and exploitation that had been a part of their history for hundreds of years. Notwithstanding the economic, cultural and ideological influence of the United States, which tried to do everything possible to disparage and discredit the Cuban experience, the people of Central America most attentively followed the successes and problems of the new socialist state that had broken the bonds of dependance from imperialism and had embarked on the path of independent development.

I am purposely returning again to the historical significance of the Cuban revolution, because we must examine the problem of Central America and the Caribbean Basin not in isolation, but in light of the main trends of world development. After all, V.I. Lenin himself once asserted that as inter-imperialist conflicts become more serious, even small countries which never before played an important role in world history -- in given situations and in a concentrated form -- could disseminate the basic trends of social development and turn them into reality.

Existing socio-economic conditions in Central America and the Caribbean Basin provide every reason for stating that a revolutionary situation has developed in this region. And although its details vary in different countries, it is precisely this factor that is defining the crisis situation. In other words, the given revolutionary situation is conditioned by specific internal conflicts that are inherent to every country. At the same time, the basic reason for the crisis, which is being felt by every Central American state, is the dependence of these countries on the US. Therefore, it is a fundamentally incorrect thesis which states that problems of the region are allegedly exclusively engendered by conflicts between the United States on the one hand and the Soviet Union, Cuba and recently Nicaragua on the other.

The intensification of the revolutionary struggle in the region is an objective phenomenon that is not dependent upon the wills of our ideological enemies. This means that the revolutionary situation that has developed is a prolonged and irreversible process. In the course of this process, each state will have to resolve its own problems which obstruct its normal development.

It is evident that two large forces have collided in Central America and the Caribbean Basin: The United States, in an alliance with reactionary oligarchies, and the people of states which have either already liberated themselves or are still struggling for their independence. Being the witnesses to and participants in these most important historical events in the region, we profess to be optimistic. We believe that the growth of the liberation process will continue until it culminates in positive results, because on the side of our peoples are the solidarity and empathy of all the progressive forces of the planet. Our just struggle is being helped both by the experience of victorious revolutions and by those movements that have not been successful. Thus, we are trying not only to transfer power to progressive forces, but also defend the achievements of the revolution. A good example is Nicaragua, where the people overthrew the Somoza dictatorship and are valiantly defending their achievements. We believe that history will justify our struggle.

[Question] What are the basic problems of the present stage of the revolutionary process in Salvador?

[Answer] As I already said, actual characteristics of the situation in Salvador have been determined by specific economic, social and political conditions that have led to the rise of a revolutionary situation in our country. Its most important component, as in other states of the region, is the interference of the United States. This is the most important factor we have to consider in explaining how the situation has developed.

Not only we, but President Reagan himself has said this. In his speech of this year, he outlined US strategy and tactics in El Salvador and Central America. The main theme of his speech was the absurd assertion that the revolutionary struggle of our peoples is supposedly supported by foreign states inimical to the US. This worn-out justification of the interventionist policy by the present occupants of the White House does not sound convincing to anyone any more. In the president's speech, however, it was said that Central America and the Caribbean Basin comprise the fourth



boundary of the US. As Reagan unequivocally let everyone understand, San Salvador is located a great deal closer to the American capital than some US cities. It is really on the basis of such "arguments" that the strategists of the State Department are developing a political course in accordance with which they allot themselves the right to interfere in the affairs of Central American states.

How, then, is this "right" translated into reality? In Nicaragua, as is well known, the US is insolently trying to overthrow the people's government and is directly supporting armed intervention from Honduras, an act of criminal and direct aggression, for which they have spent millions of dollars. In addition, they are conducting propaganda aggression against Nicaragua, falsifying and distorting the true goals of the revolution. Fortunately, however, the plans of the Reagan administration and reality are not the same at all. We are convinced that the Nicaraguan revolutionary process is irreversible. In order to destroy the achievements of this revolution, its enemies will have to destroy all the people who have risen to defend their homeland.

The White House leaders are also planning direct aggression in El Salvador, shamelessly declaring themselves "protectors" and "defenders" of the dictatorship, and providing it with military and economic aid. It is important to emphasize that President Reagan is looking at the struggle in our country as his personal problem that he is empowered to resolve. This formulation of the problem differs from the approach of former years when the leaders of the country allowed their allies to deal with such problems. Thus, it is the United States which, in striving to obstruct the victory of the revolution in El Salvador in every possible way, is supporting the forces of internal reaction.

However, notwithstanding this, all the schemes of the oligarchy, leaning on the powerful support of its northern protector, are constantly defeated. Attempts to resolve the problem with the aid of the military and civil governments ended in failure, which was confirmed by the failure of the last electoral farce. The limited economic changes did not lead to the desired goals either, particularly the parody of agrarian reform. It is especially significant that military actions of the reactionary forces are also being defeated all the time. Thus, the revolutionary struggle of the Salvadoran people is bringing doom to all the strategic and tactical plans of the enemy to failure.

[Question] How did military actions go this year?

[Answer] It is important to note that they have been influencing practically every aspect of life in our country. This year the revolutionary people's war has entered a totally new phase. The country has already been living under civil war conditions for three years, and the highest stage of this war has just recently begun. A revolutionary people's army has already been organized and is functioning successfully. It is organized into large units, such as brigades and battalions, and is capable of effecting mobilization in large areas and conducting large-scale operations. These large military components are obviously made up of smaller combat units.

An example of large-scale operations of recent months is the seizure and blowing-up, in March 1983, of the well-protected bridge in Amatillo, on the border of El Salvador and Honduras. This action, conducted by the Farabundo Marti Front for National Liberation (FNOFM), was accompanied by simultaneous military actions in an area of 1,500 square kms. These actions resulted in the destruction of five more strategically important bridges, and the occupation of the border city of Santa Rosa de Lima. Another large operation began in the last week of June in Suchitoto. The guerrillas were able to seize a fairly long stretch of the highway and defeat the military garrisons in this area. The city of Suchitoto was controlled by the insurgents for ten days.

During the first stage of guerrilla warfare our main mission was to conduct strikes and withdraw; but now large insurgent units are liberating populated areas and enter into combat with reinforced forces. To do this, maneuverability is needed. The revolutionary people's army is now conducting military operations not in small populated centers, not on small stretches of the highway, but in a significantly large territory and over a prolonged length of time. This year military operations are continuing in the Departments of Chalatenango, Morasan, San Vicente, Usulután, San Salvador and Cabanas -- mainly in the eastern part of the country. It is especially important to note that in several areas which are under the control of the insurgents, a reconstruction phase has begun. Socio-economic and political problems are being resolved there, education is being put in order, etc. This is leading to the creation of conditions in which the people will feel that they are the masters of their country.

[Question] What is the strategy of the government in this situation?

[Answer] After the defeat of a number of military plans the dictatorship took measures to reorganize the army. At present, the army has around 35,000 soldiers, but only 8,000 persons can take part in direct combat operations at one time, because the rest are occupied with maintaining order, making certain that transportation is working properly, etc. Consequently, the army does not have the capability to conduct simultaneous combat operations on several fronts. For this reason, one of the government goals is to increase manpower in the armed forces up to 60,000 persons and create special anti-guerrilla battalions in each of the country's 14 departments.

A program has also been begun that we have called the program for building "strategic villages." In accordance with this program, the government intends to take socio-economic measures in various areas, directed at isolating the guerrillas and depriving them of support from the people. The realization of these plans was begun at the beginning of June in the department of San Vicente, for example.

It is clear, however, that all these measures are doomed to failure; more precisely, they have already failed. In the first place, the government army does not have goals for which it can fight to the end, and the soldiers' morale is unusually low. The people know full well about the atrocities committed by punishment groups and will never support the reforms of the dictatorship. For this reason, the current year should be very important in

our struggle. After all, the revolutionary people's army is planning to conduct decisive battles for which special combat subunits were indeed created.

[Question] What is the political situation in the country?

[Answer] The representatives of the ruling classes, now united in political parties such as the Christian Democratic (CDP), "Nationalistic Republican Union" (ARENA), Salvadoran People's Party (PPS), Party of National Conciliation (PCN), and others, express the interests of various groups in the oligarchy, but have a common reactionary, counterrevolutionary and anti-communist platform. They are all interested in preserving the kind of dictatorial regime which would not leave the people any hope of attaining their demands. Notwithstanding all the efforts of the American Embassy, however, up to now these parties have not been able to form a unified bloc. They have concluded only the so-called "Apanex Pact" [Apanekskiy], which provides for dividing political power and zones of economic influence, as well as -- in their words -- "implementing the democratic process in El Salvador."

Nonetheless, these parties cannot agree on a unified political and military line. In addition, they are at present being torn apart by internal conflicts. For example, in the CDP, Napoleon Duarte represents one faction and Morales Ehrlich another. Within the framework of the PCN, which has been in existence for nearly 20 years, a new political grouping has emerged -- the Salvadoran Independent Party of Action (PAISA). All these parties are split; moreover, there are very significant differences among their various factions. In a situation where the US is planning to conduct presidential elections in December of this year, only the CDP has thus far named its candidate -- Napoleon Duarte.

[Question] At the present time, what is the role of Major D'Aubuisson, the leader of the ARENA party?

[Answer] He represents the most influential oligarchical groups. D'Aubuisson is known as the person who organized the murder of Archbishop Romero. The circles supporting him are relatively independent of the US, and were able to achieve his being elected chairman of the Constitutional Assembly. Although some party members are opposed to him, both he and Duarte can be looked at as proteges of Washington. This, in general, is the political situation among rightist parties.

[Question] What role in the struggle against the existing regime is being played by the country's social and professional organizations, which do not participate directly in guerrilla warfare?

[Answer] In the first place, we should look at the situation in the trade union movement, because, despite repression and genocide, it is continuing its development. On May 1st of this year there was a national trade union congress in San Salvador that passed a number of important resolutions. Among them were those calling for a struggle for peace and social justice; for a dialogue between the Revolutionary Democratic Front (RDF) and the FNOFM

on the one side and the government on the other; for halting genocide and freeing all political prisoners; and for the resumption of studies at the university. In addition, during the congress there was talk about the necessity of repealing the decrees that forbid labor strikes, about increasing wages, and so on. Thus, the Salvadoran labor unions also make their notable contribution to the people's struggle.

It is also important to note the role of organizations such as the Human Rights Commission, popular religious movements, the University of San Salvador, and professional groups, all of which to one degree or another come out in defense of the demands mentioned above.

[Question] It is well known that the representatives of the RDF-FNOFM have more than once asked for negotiations directed toward a peaceful settlement of the country's problems; however, this initiative has not met with any response either in Salvadoran government circles or on the part of the US administration, which has forced the guerrillas to continue fighting. Have there been any noticeable improvements recently with regard to this problem?

[Answer] In June of this year the RDF-FNOFM again called for a dialogue to work out an acceptable solution to the Salvadoran conflict. It was proposed to begin a direct dialogue with representatives of our country's government or with corresponding, authoritative US organizations, without setting any preliminary conditions. However, this policy of a peaceful solution has been opposed by the US, which has increased military aid to the dictatorship and has boycotted the negotiations.

It is evident that this reaction to our proposals is determined by the general trend of Washington's Central American policy. Inasmuch as the initiative for peaceful negotiations is constantly being turned down, we are seriously afraid of an intervention in which the US could at first use the armies of Central American countries and mercenaries and, in a final stage, commit direct aggression not only against El Salvador, but Nicaragua as well.

Taking into consideration the reality of the US imperialist threat, the FNOFM has begun a movement in the international arena to gain support for resolving the Salvadoran conflict through negotiation. Here we are relying on the activities of the "Contadora Group," which consists of Venezuela, Colombia, Mexico and Panama, and on the courageous support of our struggle by the government of Nicaragua, which has also spoken out in favor of a peaceful solution to the conflict. Salvadoran revolutionaries believe that if there is foreign intervention, the entire armed population will resist it and the struggle will, therefore, become a prolonged one.

[Question] It appears that the enemies of the Salvadoran revolution were hoping that the unity of the FNOFM leadership would weaken after the tragic deaths of Comandante Ana Maria and Salvador Caetano Carpio?

[Answer] Our enemies never quit trying to set up obstructions and create problems for the FNOFM leadership, hoping to undermine its position. There is no doubt that they were counting on those tragic events to weaken the unity of the revolutionaries. Evidence for this can be found, for example,

in articles in the NEW YORK TIMES, TIME, and other US publications. The FNOFM leadership, having foiled the plans of its enemies, gave them a simple answer: In the face of the tragic deaths of our comrades, it is essential to strengthen the process of unification.

This position was specifically incorporated in the latest military operations, conducted in the central areas of the country -- in Huasapa and Suchitoto, in which all five revolutionary organizations participated. This, then, was the FNOFM's answer to the schemes of its enemies. At present, cooperation and coordination of military activities among all revolutionary organizations has grown even stronger. At the same time we are also conducting a coordinated drive in the international arena. Together with the expansion of the revolutionary people's war, these activities mean that the events on which the imperialists and the oligarchy were counting could not put an end to the development of the revolutionary process.

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## INTERNATIONAL

U.S. ROLE IN CENTRAL AMERICA CRITICIZED BY INSTITUTE DIRECTOR

Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 11, Nov 83, pp 112-120

[Symposium report by V.V. Vol'skiy: "The U.S. in Central America"]

[Excerpts] An international seminar took place in June 1983 in The Hague (the Netherlands) on "Policy Alternatives for Central America and the Caribbean Countries." It was organized by The Hague Institute for Social Research jointly with the Institute for Economic and Social Research of Nicaragua and the Coordinated Regional Council of Economic and Social Research for Central American Countries. More than one hundred scholars and political leaders participated in this seminar, including representatives from fourteen Central American and Caribbean Basin countries, the USA, Canada, as well as European parties of the Socialist International, parliamentarians, and social and government leaders. More than twenty reports were presented and discussed in detail within the framework of four problems: The nature of the current crisis in Central American countries and the Caribbean Basin; alternatives for trade and aid at the regional and international levels; alternatives of economic models for countries on the continent; and alternatives of political models in the region. On the basis of a broad consensus, the participants of this symposium in The Hague approved a final document in which they decisively condemned the interventionist, neo-colonial policy of the present US administration in Central America and the Caribbean Basin, and expressed support for the struggle of the peoples of this region for freedom, independence and social progress.

The Director of the Latin American Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Doctor of Economic Sciences, V.V. Vol'skiy, participated in The Hague meeting. The report he presented to the symposium on the first point of the agenda follows below.

The present U.S. administration is trying to convince the world that the USSR, Cuba, Mexico and even the Palestine Liberation Organization, anyone



but the United States, are responsible for the growing seriousness of the situation in Central America. President Reagan has reached the point where he even said that the "concentration of evil" rests in the Soviet Union, that is, if it were not in existence, would the peoples of Central American countries have dared to "revolt"? There are even those in the US who, following Reagan's words, deny people the right to rise and struggle for their rights to some kind of an independence and who have proposed to "judge" the conflict between the US and the USSR in Central America. But all these thoughts are only sorry attempts to divert public attention from the real conflict that has more than a century-old history, the conflict between the United States and Central America. Latin America remembers well its history and as far as that goes, Washington's present actions do not allow anyone to forget this history, which is a direct continuation of the tradition of its aggressive policy.

The imperial aspirations of the US toward the south were demonstrated a long time ago. It is well known that even as early as the time of the wars for independence in this region the US maintained a double obstructionist policy in order to interfere with the formation of strong and truly independent states. Thus, they did not allow Cuba and Puerto Rico to gain independence from Spanish colonialism, having decided to "reserve" those areas for the US. Simon Bolivar, the outstanding fighter for Latin American liberation, whose 200th anniversary of birth is being celebrated by the world this year, wrote about this with bitterness and pain: "It is evident that Providence Itself has designated the United States to hurl Latin America into an abyss of misery in the name of freedom."

The US sets special sights on Central America and primarily on Nicaragua. The US decided to lay its inter-Ocean canal in the territory of this country. At first Washington's activities had a relatively "peaceful" nature: Its "captains" simply applied pressure in order to destroy the Central American Federation that had been established and to cause discord later, and set one country against another, eventually organizing five republics out of the area. Subsequently they "helped" the banker Vanderbilt to receive concessions for American transit of goods across the isthmus of Nicaragua.

But because of the rapid escalation of American capitalism toward imperialism, an avalanche-like hunger for seizing and plundering new territories, acquiring colonies and conquering peoples was growing in the United States. Those whose single purpose in life was "to make money" tried to spread the model of "the Wild West" in every country and area to which they had access. Southern slave owners, Northern bankers, Western gold prospectors equipped and armed entire hordes of mercenaries who set out across the borders of the US. Following them was the regular army of the United States in order "to protect the lives and interests of American citizens."

Today the Reagan administration is conducting an aggressive policy in the entire world. It is especially zealously trying for revenge in Central America, that is, to win back Nicaragua, not permit victory of the people of El Salvador and place handcuffs on any opposition in the countries of the

isthmus. The arsenal of means and methods is still the same old one worked out by monopolies and official Washington during the course of more than a century of confrontation with the peoples of Central America: Fabrications of "condemnations"; false and ridiculous assertions about the "threat to the national security of the US" from even the smallest state (even Grenada!), if it refuses to bow to the dictate of those who have power in the North; bands of mercenaries in the dirty hands of the CIA; arms supply, sending of "advisors," and "instructors," to pro-American dictators, carrying out genocide against one's own people; and finally the alpha and omega of the entire American policy of interventionism -- money, money, money. Thanks to the profitable investment of capital, the ruling circles of the US set foreign policy doctrines and slogans, violate them easily, and abandon them completely, only to do the same unpardonable thing again and again.

The Carter administration selected "the defense of human rights" as its motto. This did not prevent it from giving comprehensive support to the criminal regime of Somoza, but for appearance's sake they withheld from giving aid to the Salvadoran junta, admitting that it violates human rights a bit too much. But at the very end of his administration when monopolies recognized the reality of danger facing the junta, Carter, notwithstanding every fact known to the whole world, suddenly announced that the observation of human rights in El Salvador had "improved" and gave the junta 5 million dollars free aid.

Having become president, Reagan announced that he is not interested in "human rights," and that the criteria of his foreign policy will be only US national interest as they are understood by his administration, and the struggle against "international terrorism," by which he meant the peoples' national liberation movement. What touched specifically upon Latin America, Reagan promised to "restore order" and force Latin Americans to "respect" the United States. Dollars flowed into El Salvador in a wide stream. Over a period of 2.5 years the bloody junta received 748 million dollars. Now Reagan is "beating out" of the Congress additional hundreds of millions above those already allocated for this year. Simultaneously the Washington "fighter against terrorism" directed tens of millions of dollars for organizing counterrevolutionary terror against Nicaragua. According to data published by the American journal NEWSWEEK, the CIA received 30 million dollars by special allocation and spent another 11 million dollars of their own funds for equipping and training bands of mercenaries on the territory of Honduras.

Washington also put together a special organization for "coordinating" the invasion of terrorist bands. Its full list was first published by the Foreign Affairs Commission on April 14, 1983, by Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, T. Enders. One did not have to look far to find the nominal head of this band: it was Somoza's former military attache in Washington, Colonel Enrique Bermudes. "Former national guard members are leading many guerrilla units," reported Enders. But he gave assurance that they are not all connected with the "crimes committed by previous governments." But who can believe that Somoza's followers who escaped from the country were not participants in these crimes. And how could the government of the United States, admitting the criminal nature of the Somoza governments, support them to the final moment? No matter what excuses,



hypocrisy and demagoguery hide the true goals and actions of US foreign policy in Central America, one thing is perfectly clear: The US, as it has in the past, reflects the greed of American monopolies and aspirations of the US ruling circles for world supremacy.

But it would be an injustice to the American people to stop at this point. There have always been honest and courageous people protesting against interventionism. In the years of Sandino's struggle for the independence of his country, the American people organized a US committee: "Hands off Nicaragua." The best people of America of that period joined it: Upton Sinclair, Scott Nearing, Robert Dunn, Carlton Beals, John Freeman, Bishop Brown, and many others. Their fervent and self-sacrificing work contributed to the evacuation of US troops from Nicaragua in 1933. Today there are immeasurably more people like that, and their struggle for justice and true honor and interests of the people have become even more adamant. It was their protest, united with the heroism of the Vietnamese people, that forced the US government to stop that dirty war. The American people do not want to be dragged into new neocolonial adventures. Michael Barnes, chairman of the Subcommittee for Inter-American Affairs of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, declared that "Literally thousands of letters demand that the US halt any kind of aid to the Salvadoran junta, and perhaps only five or so letters support this aid." It is already becoming difficult not to consider the opinion of such a vast majority. It is, after all, no coincidence that Congressman Boland, Chairman of the House Committee on Intelligence, inserted an amendment prohibiting the US government from using any source whatsoever, including CIA channels, for the overthrow of the Sandanista government of Nicaragua. It is not by accident that the Congress approved this amendment. It is true that the present administration will stop at nothing; thus far it is not inclined to consider either public opinion or even the Congress. But let us hope that this will not continue forever.

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## INTERNATIONAL

### ENCYCLOPEDIC HANDBOOK ON LATIN AMERICA REVIEWED

Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 11, Nov 83 pp 130-132

[Review by P.F. Ivanov, of book "Latinskaya Amerika. Entsiklopedicheskiy Spravochnik" [Latin America: An Encyclopedic Handbook], no author given, 2 vols., "Sovetskaya entsiklopediya," Moscow, 1979-1982, vol. 1 - 576 pp, vol. 2 - 656 pp, 100,000 copies]

[Text] The publication of the encyclopedic handbook, "Latinskaya Amerika," has evoked a great deal of interest and attention in our country and abroad. Published in a number of copies (100,000) not considered small for this type of publication, it has already practically disappeared from bookstore shelves. This is explained not only by the uniqueness of the two-volume work which sums up, as it were, Latin American research in the USSR by presenting a synthesized and systematic view of the most important information on the region as a whole and on individual countries, but also by the inexhaustible interest of Soviet people toward this faraway, seething continent. Latin America, taking up more than 15% of the world's land surface, is populated by around 360 million people. Its people have made an immense contribution to the treasure house of world civilization. They have rich liberation and revolutionary traditions. The current situation in Latin American countries is characterized by great shifts in the correlation of class and political forces, by the expansion and extension of the liberating anti-imperialist struggle to strengthen political independence and economic self-sufficiency, and freedom from capitalist exploitation and achievement of true social justice.

Thus far, this is the first and only encyclopedic publication in the world where the reader will find the most indispensable information, richly illustrated, on the geography, ethnography, history, economics and politics and art of Latin America. It is organized well. The handbook consists of a general overview in which the entire region, as a whole, is examined. The alphabetical part is comprised of over 5 thousand articles, among which are comprehensive surveys on each country, as well as the most diverse kind of information, beginning with data on peoples and languages, notable dates, and terminology, and ending with biographical sketches of well-known leaders of the international communist and workers' movement, leading Latin American scientists, state and socio-political figures, and outstanding representatives in the fields of culture and art. Many of the biographical sketches in this edition have never been published before in any encyclopedic

work. Practically for the first time ever there are data on various inter-American organizations and associations of an economic, social and political nature, both past and present. The third part of the handbook is an appendix that includes a listing of all presidents of Latin American states from the time they achieved political independence, a list of national holidays, a chronology of the dates when diplomatic relations were established between Latin American countries and the USSR, tables of national units of measurement, and other information.

The two volumes under review have around 130 maps in color and black-and-white, and 1,800 illustrations in color and black-and-white. Many of them are published for the first time, thanks to a great deal of research on the part of the authors and compilers of this encyclopedic handbook. An indisputable virtue of this new handbook is also the fact that discussion of nearly all political events on the continent go up to 1982. If the fast changing political situation in Latin America is considered, it becomes understandable how difficult it was to accomplish this task.

There is no disputing the fact that the basic work of preparing this encyclopedic handbook was done by the scholars of the Institute for Latin America of the USSR Academy of Sciences and a relatively small editorial staff. As a whole, however, this publication could be rightfully called international, inasmuch as over 300 scholars participated in the project, including those from the Soviet Union, the GDR, Argentina, Brazil, Venezuela, Mexico, Peru, Uruguay, Chile, Ecuador and other countries. The Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Cuba made an immense contribution to this work.

A good third of the handbook is devoted to problems of the history of Latin America. There is a comprehensive historical sketch as a general survey, and numerous articles on specific problems of Latin American history in the alphabetical part. While giving the compilers an undisputed plus for including in the general survey a solid article entitled, "The Communist Movement," they should also be rebuked for not having found space for similar articles on the workers' and peasants' movement, for example. Even the usual literature does not have so much written about these problems; therefore, there is even more reason to include them in an encyclopedic publication.

The historical survey itself cannot, in principle, be objected to from the standpoint of its composition, periodization, and saturation with necessary factual material. Regret can be voiced on another count. The incompleteness in working out some theoretical problems of the past and present in Latin America and the existence of a few diametrically opposed points of view on certain theoretical problems could, of course, be justified because of existing gaps in knowledge, but we still believe that an encyclopedic handbook should include its own original concepts of a number of substantive problems on the historical and socio-economic development of the countries of the region. It is known, for example, how important are issues relating to the genesis of capitalism in Latin America and to the basic ruling class -- the bourgeoisie, or to the characteristics of the genesis and stages of the development of capitalism in the individual countries. The handbook, however, has little written about this, and what is written is not clear enough. In general, problems of the typology of these countries have, for all practical purposes, not been reflected in the work under review.

Some objection could be made to the treatment of events relating to the reactionary military coup in Chile on September 11, 1973. There is a noticeable and, in our opinion, not an always justifiable tilt toward errors made in the economic and social policy of the Popular Unity government. It is obvious that this factor played a negative role. But the main culprits of the Chilean tragedy were, without a doubt, American imperialism and the local reactionaries.

Not completely on a par with other material in the handbook are articles devoted to science, culture, public health, and education. They are -- and this applies especially to articles on public health and education -- too overloaded with factual material, which is analyzed very poorly; they stand out for their structural looseness, lack of clarity and diffuse conclusions.

The handbook provides a correct and important indication of the fact that the present role of Latin American countries has grown immeasurably in the international arena. This has been expressed in their drive to conduct a foreign policy independent of imperialism, a foreign policy that would be in large part responsive to their national needs. After the "cold war" period there was a noticeable watershed, as it were, between the old political policy of the largest Latin American states (Argentina, Brazil, Mexico, Venezuela, Chile before the coup, and others), following the US lead, and new trends which had a constructive, positive nature on problems regarding the preservation of international peace and security, and the struggle against the threat of nuclear war.

A great merit of the entire authors' collective is the fact that the handbook found a place to include virtually every conference, treaty and agreement of some importance among Latin American countries themselves, as well as with other states of the world. Well presented, also, are issues dealing with the history and present status of Soviet-Latin American relations.

Giving a general assessment of this truly unique and substantial work, it can be stated that with its publication Soviet scholarship has made a significant step forward in its comprehensive research on this seething continent. For the first time, a publication on this subject now exists on such large a scale and in Marxist-Leninist terms. For this reason, the immense international significance of the volumes under review cannot be underestimated. This work has already taken its place with other weapons in the ideological struggle with our class enemies. At the same time, this encyclopedic handbook is a significant contribution to the task of strengthening friendship and cooperation between the USSR and the peoples of Latin America.

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## INTERNATIONAL

### BOOK REVIEW ON LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES IN WEST

Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 11, Nov 83 pp 132-134

[Review by V.M. Kulistikov, of book "Latinoamerikanistika v SShA, Stranakh Zapadnoy Yevropy i Yaponii" [Latin American Studies in the USA, Western European Countries and Japan] edited by A. S. Koval'skaya, Moscow, Institute for Latin America, USSR Academy of Sciences, 1982, 148 pages]

[Text] In recent years there has been a noticeable increase in interest toward Latin American studies on the part of researchers from developed capitalist countries. The ruling circles of these countries are assigning important tasks to the field of bourgeois Latin American studies, tasks that will support the scientific and ideological "Latin American strategy" of imperialism. Government and private organizations are providing sizeable funds for organizing new research centers and publishing books and special scholarly journals. From the book being reviewed here, Soviet Latin American specialists can pick up information on how Latin American research is organized and what directions it is taking in the USA, a number of West European countries and Japan. This volume, a collection of articles, was prepared by staff members of the Institute for Latin America, USSR Academy of Sciences, under the general editorship of A. S. Koval'skaya.

This volume provides basic information about the largest scholarly institutions and research centers which deal with problems of Latin America, professional organizations of foreign Latin American specialists and their journals, and the most notable publications of recent years. This collection is not only informative, but analytical as well. Tracing the most important directions in the development of current bourgeois Latin American studies, the authors show that, on the whole, this field is orientated toward implementing the main policy goals of capitalist countries in Latin America. As expressed in the foreword to this volume, this orientation has grown especially strong in recent years, as shown by the shift of the center of research interests from the areas of anthropology, history and literature to the area of current socio-economic and political problems (pp. 3-4).

The most intensive Latin American research is conducted in the US. As S.D. Fedina observes in her survey, particular attention of specialists today is focused on the problems and prognosis of the economic development of Latin American countries, analysis of current socio-political processes, and the status and development of inter-American relations.

As a rule, the basic formulation of Latin American research problems takes place in the largest American universities and scholarly centers, and associations connected with them. In conjunction with this, there is a definite "distribution of labor." Thus, Boston U., U. of Wisconsin, Yale, U. of Florida, U. of Chicago and their research centers concentrate on problems of economic development, trade and agriculture; Harvard, Columbia, Pittsburgh, Stanford and Texas University -- on socio-political themes, and problems of history and culture; California, Georgetown and New York University -- on foreign policy problems and inter-American relations (p. 8). The Association for Latin American Research (LASA) coordinates all scholarly research in the area of Latin American studies. LASA is provided with information support by the Information Service for Latin American countries (ISLA). Financial support to universities, research centers and professional organizations for US Latin American scholars is given by six US foundations: Ford, Kettering, Mellon, Tinker, Rockefeller and Rockefeller Brothers.

In Western Europe, the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) stands out as the country in which Latin American studies have developed most. According to data cited by L.I. Shagunova in her survey, there are over 270 centers in the FRG, directly or indirectly dealing with Latin American problems (p. 26); the greatest number of research programs is developed here; and a large quantity of books, monographs and library catalogs is published here (p. 40). Among the largest contributors to the scholarly programs is the "Volkswagen" company which has affiliates in a number of Latin American countries. Founded in 1962 in Hamburg, the Institute for the Study of Ibero-America even acquired fame as the "brain center" for FRG monopolies for its "services" in scholarly support for the expansion of West German capital into Latin America (p. 24). In the last few years, however, West German scientific research centers have been experiencing serious financial difficulties, which have led to a partial curtailment of work.

The second place (after the FRG), among Western European countries where Latin American studies have been highly developed, belongs to Great Britain. As emphasized in the survey by N.V. Dolzhenkov, British research programs in this field are planned much more carefully than are the West German. All six large research centers -- in Cambridge, Sussex, Glasgow, Liverpool, London and Essex -- function as multipurpose, scholarly research bases, whose activities are coordinated by the British Society for Latin American Research, founded at the end of the 1960's (pp. 43-44). Although their subject areas, as before, are dominated by problems of anthropology, culture and history, there is a steady growth of research and publications in problems of recent and current history, foreign and domestic policy, and socio-economic development of Latin American countries.

Similar directions are being taken in the development of Latin American studies in France (survey by N.V. Arkhipova), Spain (survey by I.V. Soboleva), Italy (survey by I.B. Kuz'mina), The Netherlands (survey by I.M. Sidorenko), the Scandinavian countries (survey by G. Ye. Klechenov), Portugal (survey by V.B. Reznikov), Belgium (survey by A. Ye. Shereshevskaya) and Switzerland (survey by G. Ye. Klechenov). In this regard, in those countries where a scholarly interest toward Latin America arose long ago due to



historical reasons, a break is occurring with the traditional structure of research, accompanied by a radical reexamination of academic courses and research programs.

I.V. Soboleva, in her survey, notes that Japan's scholarly interest in Latin America increased proportionally to the growth of Japanese trade and economic relations with countries of the region. The leading research center here became the Ibero-American Institute at Sophia University in Tokyo, where basic interests lie in the study of the economic and political situation in Latin America. Actively participating in financing research projects are trade and industrial circles, which are interested in receiving exhaustive economic and socio-political information.

The volume under review will undoubtedly become a solid aid to specialists dealing with the problems of the development of foreign Latin American studies. It is to be hoped, however, that in future publications of this type more attention will be devoted to the bibliographic section, which would help the reader find the books mentioned in the surveys and would, in the final analysis, increase the information potential of the book.

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## INTERNATIONAL

### INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION DENOUNCES CHILEAN JUNTA

Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 11, Nov 83, pp 141-142

[Article by A.A. Sosnovskiy: "Strengthen Solidarity with the Democrats of Chile"]

[Text] The International Commission for investigating the crimes of the military junta in Chile had its regular meeting in Helsinki, September 2-4, 1983. Participants included well-known political and public figures, jurists and cultural leaders from more than 20 countries, including 7 socialist countries. There was also a delegation from the Soviet people, headed by K.A. Khachaturov, deputy chairman of the management board of "Novosti" press, who is also a member of the bureau of the Soviet Committee for Solidarity with Chilean Democrats.

This session was especially significant because it was timed to coincide with the 10th anniversary of the military-fascist coup and the heroic death of President Salvador Allende. In a certain sense, the commission was taking stock of its activities for the preceding period, since it was meeting in Helsinki again, for its first meeting had taken place here in November 1973. This fact was noted by Ya. Syoderman, member of the Politburo of the Social Democratic Workers' Party of Finland and governor of the capital province of Uusmaa, who spoke at the solemn opening of the session. He emphasized the unabated interest of the Finnish public toward the situation in Chile. This was also attested to in the welcoming words of Finnish President M. Koivisto, as well as by the participation in this meeting by members of the government, parliamentarians and public leaders of this country, and by the very fact that the session was taking place in the building of the parliament of Finland.

The work of the international commission over a period of ten years of its existence is convincing proof that fruitful collaboration of people who sometimes hold different political views is both possible and practical if they are united by the noble task of solidarity. The commission meetings that have taken place over the years in Helsinki (1973 and 1976), Copenhagen (1974 and 1979), Mexico City (1975), Luxemburg (1977), Algiers (1978), Rome (1980), Athens (1982), as well as the present session, demonstrated the unity of international opinion by condemning the Pinochet junta despite all the attempts of its chiefs and its protectors in the US and a number of other Western countries to deceive world public opinion with old wives' tales about the "liberalization of the military-fascist dictatorship in Chile.



Exposing various aspects of Pinochet's policy against the people were: Ya. Syoderman, chairman of the international commission; Kh. G. Frank, the commission's general secretary and member of parliament from the Social Democratic Party of Sweden; O. Jespersen, former minister of justice of Denmark and member of parliament; G. Benedetti, Italian communist senator; the well-known jurists L. Retsei (Hungary), W. Wilson (Great Britain) and J. Borquert (France); E. Hammerich (Denmark), deputy to the Parliament of Europe; S. Verduga (Ecuador), executive secretary of the Latin American human rights association; L. Chavez (Nicaragua), the writer; and others. Witnesses to crimes of the Pinochet regime were heard. Chilean leaders took part in the meeting: O. Bussi de Allende, the widow of President Allende; C. Allmeida, general secretary of the Socialist Party of Chile; V. Teitelboim, member of the Politcommission of the Chilean Communist Party Central Committee; B. Teplitski, chairman of the "Democratic Chile" organization; S. Insunsa, former minister of justice in the Popular Unity government; and L. Allala, secretary of the Socialist International for Latin American countries.

The speeches of most of the participants denounced US support of the military-fascist dictatorship in Chile and noted that the Pinochet regime is continuing with mass repressions, violating basic rights of Chilean citizens. The cruel suppression of the anti-dictatorship demonstrations in 1983, in the course of which dozens of persons died, is evidence of the fact that the repressive nature of this regime has not changed.

The Concluding Declaration of the participants of this session, addressed to the General Secretary of the UN, calls on the international community to maintain vigilance with respect to the developing situation in Chile, to continue the campaign of solidarity with the democratic forces of that country and to increase the UN's attention to the situation in Chile. The Commission demanded that Pinochet resign, that democracy be restored in Chile, that those responsible for crimes against Chilean patriots be punished, and that all exiles be permitted to return freely to their homeland. The document stresses the fact that in its previous meeting the commission noted the continuing deterioration of the situation with regard to observing human rights in Chile in 1982, and that this trend is continuing up to the present time.

Placing a special emphasis on what happened in Chile in 1983 during the days of national protest against the policy of the ruling regime, the commission drew the attention of the international community to the fact that "these events isolated Pinochet even more, and he is now losing the support of even the military establishment. He is, therefore, trying to weaken the wave of mass demonstrations and other forms of opposition by attempting to hide his repressions by political maneuvers." Based on facts that were presented at the session, evidence of witnesses and data from international organizations, the commission again confirmed its assessment of Pinochet's dictatorship as "one of the most brutal regimes of our time." It was emphasized that the commission was ready to continue its investigation of the crimes of this inhuman regime.

The results of the meetings in Helsinki testify to the fact that no matter how hard Pinochet and his protectors try to avoid responsibility, they will not succeed in escaping the condemnation of the international community.

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## INTERNATIONAL

### TWO BOOKS ON SAUDI ARABIAN SOCIETY, FOREIGN POLICY REVIEWED

Moscow MEZHDURNARODNAYA ZHIZN' in Russian No 11, Nov 83 pp 134-135

[Review by L. Val'kova of books "Istoriya Saudovskoy Aravii (1745-1973)" [A History of Saudi Arabia (1745-1973)] by A.M. Vasil'yev, Moscow, "Nauka," 1982, 612 pages, and "Saudovskaya Araviya i Zapad" [Saudi Arabia and the West] by A.I. Yakovlev, Moscow, "Nauka," 1982, 208 pages]

[Text] Thanks to its enormous oil and oil-dollar riches, over the past decade Saudi Arabia has gained an extremely large amount of political influence. The Saudi leadership displays the greatest activeness in the Near East region. Relying on its financial strength and its special place in the Muslim world, the Saudi dynasty has laid claim not only to the role of leader in the Arab East but also leading positions among all Muslim countries. As the importance of Saudi Arabia grows in the world arena, interest in that country also grows, which is eloquently shown by the increasing number of scientific works dealing with it.

Among these works the two books that we now review deserve attention. One is by the well-known journalist and Arabist A. Vasil'yev and is entitled "The History of Saudi Arabia." The other is a monograph by A. Yakovlev entitled "Saudi Arabia and the West."

A. Vasil'yev's book is a basic work covering a period of more than 200 years. The author has made a deep study of documents and used an extensive range of periodicals in Russian, Arabic and English. This broad historical material helps in better understanding not only the disposition of domestic political forces in Saudi Arabia at the present stage but also the nature of Saudi Arabia's relations with the Arab world.

Much space in the book is given over to an analysis of the policy of the United States, which since the Thirties has been giving considerable attention to the Saudi state; and a detailed analysis is made of Saudi Arabia's participation in OPEC and the changes in the country's oil policy.

The author investigates the social structure of Saudi society and the political system in Saudi Arabia, where under conditions of the development of capitalism in the Sixties and Seventies family and tribal links have been increasingly

weakened while the feudal-tribal leadership has been gradually "embourgeoise." I must agree with A. Vasil'yev that the Saudi Arabia of the Sixties and Seventies can be logically described as "feudal-capitalist." (page 525).

There are also inaccuracies in this work. Thus, for example, the Najd ruler did not agree formally to the British protectorate. Neither is it possible to agree completely with the author in his interpretation of the question of the internal dynastic struggle between King Saud and Crown Prince Faysal during the period 1958-1964.

In general it would be desirable for A. Vasil'yev to make more generalizations in his book that could be used to study the history not only of Saudi Arabia but also other countries in the region. I would also like to note that some parts of the monograph should obviously be linked with the present time.

A. Yakovlev's monograph investigates the socioeconomic development of Saudi Arabia from the early Thirties to the early Eighties. The author has not only gathered together extensive factual material but has also made important theoretical generalizations.

In particular he offers an extremely complete characterization of the process of the capitalist modernization now being observed in Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and a number of other countries in the East. The author rightly sees the specific nature of this process in the fact that it has been initiated and conducted by the ruling class (or ruling group) in an attempt to consolidate its own dominance (pages 94-96).

Revealing the special significance of oil for Saudi Arabia the author emphasizes that it has become an important factor in the development of this state. It is also convincingly shown in the monograph how, step by step, Saudi Arabia's mutual relations have changed with respect to the ARAMCO political association, which since the early Eighties has been acting not as a concessionaire but a contractor.

The features of the regional development of capitalism in Saudi Arabia are shown in the review work, along with the specific nature of the state and social systems in this country. Analyzing the makeup and features of the Saudi grande bourgeoisie, the author correctly notes that since the mid-Seventies one graphic manifestation of Saudi Arabia's socioeconomic development has been the rapid growth of the Saudi grande bourgeoisie in a society that still retains prefederal features. Investigating the role of the government in the development of Saudi Arabia's economy he rightly concludes that since the mid-Seventies there has been increasingly close cooperation between Saudi Arabia and foreign monopoly, national and state-capitalist organizations while the national private capital organization remains relatively weak.

However, I cannot agree with the conclusion that the complete capitalist transformation of the "Saudi social-production organism will in the foreseeable future be problematic." (page 194). I think that the rapid rates of capitalist transformation in Saudi Arabia indicate that this transformation is quite realizable in the foreseeable future even though, as far as can be seen,

capitalism in that country will be specifically "Saudi." In my view A. Yakovlev's assertion that the signs of the movement of Saudi society into the early period of capitalism appeared only in the early Eighties (page 193) is not quite justified. Capitalism was being developed rapidly as long ago as the mid-Sixties.

On the whole, although including certain inaccuracies, both works are a serious contribution to the cause of studying the history and present sociopolitical situation not only in Saudi Arabia but also the Arab world in general.

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INTERNATIONAL

IMPROVEMENTS IN ANGOLAN PARTY-IDEOLOGICAL EDUCATION SYSTEM LAUDED

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Jan 84 p 4

[Article by PRAVDA correspondent M. Zenovich: "Along the Right Path"]

[Text] The lights in the windows of the Agostinho Neto National Party School burn late into the evening. The school is located behind a green hedge at the corner of the quiet side street (Antoniú du Asiz Junior), named in honor of the early 20th century Angolan writer, and the broad and noisy Marien Ngouabi Propsect.

Now, only the old residents remember those February days in 1977 when a few enthusiasts who the leadership of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola [MPLA] had assigned the task of setting a school to train cadres for the future party arrived at the building that in colonial times used to be a school for the young ladies of the nobility, a kind of Angolan Smolnyy.

There were an unbelievable number of difficulties. Nevertheless, in December of that same year, that is, by the time of the 1st MPLA Congress, at which the national liberation movement became the vanguard party, basing its activities on the theory of scientific socialism, the school had already had its first graduation of 330 people.

Expansion of the network of party schools was defined as the main form for preparing cadres for the MPLA-Labor Party. In the provinces, resolution of this task often began with the search for a place to construct the school buildings, and then together teachers and future students would lay the first bricks. However, there was another problem that was rather more serious: the almost total illiteracy; party education often had to be combined with wiping out illiteracy.

Today, the following facts indicate the results of the work that has been done. Along with the National Party School in Angola there are eight provincial schools. About 3,900 people are training at any one time. There is virtually no sphere of party, state, economic, cultural or public life in which those who have undergone training in these schools are not working.



The 1980 1st Extraordinary MPLA-Labor Party Congress passed a resolution to significantly expand the political education network down to the level of party cells and evening schools at enterprises and establishments.

Under these conditions, in the past 2 years a restructuring in the work of the National Party School has been outlined. The MPLA-Labor Party Central Committee Secretariat and the Ideological and Political Education Section have now organized a course for training mainly teaching cadres with higher qualifications at the school, combining political training with general educational training at the level of the higher school instead of the secondary school. It is a question of affording diplomaed graduates the right to deliver lectures and conduct theoretical courses in the secondary and higher educational establishments.

These changes have become possible thanks largely to the effective implementation of agreements on expanding interparty contacts between the MPLA-Labor Party and the CPSU and the fraternal parties in other socialist countries, in particular Cuba and the GDR, providing for the exchange of experience between the party schools. This is what (Mario Duarte), director of the National Party School, told me.

"Teacher-internationalists from the USSR, Cuba and the GDR are doing much work here. With their help a solid link is insured between theory and practice. At the school people receive ideological knowledge and then they work later at the cutting edge of party, state and military building. We are well aware of the present heat of the ideological struggle being fanned by imperialism up to the scale of 'psychological warfare.' Angola bears the brunt of confrontation with the United States and its allies--the racist regime in South Africa."

(M. Duarte) continued: "Life requires from us a creative approach to new phenomena in international politics. And on this plane we are doing a great deal."

The Angolan friends make no secret of the fact that there are still many difficulties along the path of solving the tasks set for the party school. And these tasks are major, first and foremost the training of highly qualified cadres that must hold high the banner of the Angolan revolution.

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## INTERNATIONAL

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## NATIONAL

### ALL-UNION TELEVISION PROGRAMS CRITICIZED

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Jan 84 p 3

[Article by V. Kichin: "We Are Waiting for Innovations: Notes on the Second Television Program"]

[Text] Two years ago, the second all-union program appeared in television broadcasting, whose creation was envisaged by the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress. This was not an ordinary event. And the point is not only that there was a marked expansion in the choice of broadcasts for TV viewers.

As is well known, television is strongly linked to the running day, to events full of dynamics. The second program, as one had to expect, attempted to strengthen, above all, this link. The weekly information and journalistic broadcasts "International Survey", "Our Correspondents Talk", and "The Week's Sports". A daily double block of news supplemented the information outputs of the first program to which we were accustomed.

The call sign of "Time" assigns, as it were, a single point of reading to both all-union programs, but they inform the viewers each in their own rhythm and style. As a rule, the most important, propagandistically the most urgent news--events of paramount significance--hit the first. The second strives to provide broader information, interpreting also events that are not so outstanding, but which, upon close examination, are exceedingly significant on the socio-political plane.

There is the broadcast "Our Correspondents Talk", as it were creating a distinctive screen image of the week. It brought viewers a series of remembered meetings with heroes of everyday working life. The presence of the journalist on the scene of the event and the individual intonation of his commentary restore the effect--alas, somewhat forgotten by television--of "direct" reporting, but its effectiveness in the education of the television audience is exceedingly great. True, in this broadcast one also encounters subjects that are neutral in tone and materials which are standard in terms of organization.

For "International Survey", one must wish a more persistent search for a profile of its own (you see, "International Panorama" exists on the first channel). Unfortunately, the absence, on the television screen, of "its own", operative, as they say "hot" information about international events makes the content of the second program scanty.

Prestige is being gained by a new heading in Saturday's program--"Stories About the Party"--an original television course on the history of the CPSU, the obvious assets of which include systematic character, detail, and the involvement of the basic documentary material.

Young people have received their own information and journalistic program. "Up to Sixteen and Older" represents in essence a television journal, with the operative heading "Compass", and with more detailed subjects--essay, problem and analytic subjects. There is important talk for the individual who is growing up--who to be, what to be, what it means to become a personality; he is acquainted with enthusiastic people, who have found themselves in a favorite pursuit. However, for the creators of this promising cycle, in my view, the problem of the audience of the broadcast is urgent for the time being--all the time you sense that the people on the screen do not always imagine the composition and the appearance of the audience to which they address themselves. The dramatic composition of some of these subjects also gives rise to doubt. An intent "glance" into the world sometimes develops into moved contemplation, and the persistent striving to see the significant in the commonplace becomes another time deliberate.

These shortcomings are to a certain extent also characteristic of the youth program "This Evening". Although on the whole this program-dispute is interesting.

In giving up the proper journalism, the viewer has the right to expect also an artistic understanding of life from television. Here, it must be acknowledged, the successes of the second program are significantly more modest. Entertaining programs are also needed--their share in recent times has steadily declined and has now almost reached the zero mark in the second all-union program.

If one bears in mind the entire complex of tasks of the second program, the idea of involving local television studios in broader participation in its work must be considered one of the most fruitful. How is this idea being realized in practice? In information and documentary genres, TV at times showed models of effectiveness precisely with the aid of local studios, however, in the sphere of artistic creativity "the television era" is reducing great distances extremely timidly. Tough, you agree, in our century it is strange for a resident of Moscow, Leningrad and Kiev not to know about an interesting television premiere in Tbilisi, Riga or Gorkiy.

With the appearance of the second all-union program, the possibility of the showing of such premieres in the broadcasting network of the Central Television increased. Did this exert an appreciable influence on the composition and quality of the program? By a strange inertia in the new undertaking, completely "worn-down" things are being selected for showings, things which are not marked by originality of form. Such, for example, is the Saturday "block", in which we find, as a rule, a documentary film, a story about a city or kray, and a small concert. This stereotype of a gala report chains the initiative of those who prepare the broadcast. In such "blocks" there is rarely surprise, here everything is, as it were, strictly measured off ahead of time--and the

footage of every item, and its approximate content, and even the intonation of the announcers.

And, you know, when we take Baku or Minsk on our screens, we expect precisely novelties. We expect not only to encounter an interesting "project", but also a talented, created collective which prepares the broadcast. Interesting people in the frame and behind the frame.

It seems that Central Television itself could play a more active, unifying, and coordinating role here. Not simply to present the all-union screen to local studios--to involve them in participation in large programs, calculated for a long life. Here is only one example. We frequently see performances of artistic amateur activity. In showing such programs, television, as it were, with its prestige attests to their high level. However, this is by far not always so. Yes, and these programs are of interest to the modern experienced viewer not so much from the aesthetic, as from the purely human aspect--from the social and moral aspect. And, of course, they demand not a "concert" but a journalistic presentation. Such attempts were undertaken once upon a time in the anthology "Karusel'" [Merry-go-round]. One can imagine how the "Karusel'" would sparkle after having been enriched by the technical possibilities of today and by the spirit of competition between the studios of the country.

I would like to be convinced that our friend television does not let something important and interesting go by, that it is sure to show it, even if this item of interest has occurred in Vladivostok. . . Unfortunately, this is not how it always is. Even if the item of interest is--next to us, in Moscow. Well, why, for example, do we more and more rarely see on the screen a showing of the work of theaters giving guest performances in the capital? Neither the BDT [Leningrad Academic Order of the Red Banner of Labor Great Dramatic Theater imeni M. Gor'kiy], nor the Leningrad Theater imeni Kirov, neither the Moldavian Opera, nor the Sverdlovsk Operetta, neither the Kaunas Drama, nor other interesting collectives, which came to Moscow with the past, sensations-rich summer, with the rarest exceptions, attracted the attention of the television editors. As if artistic events did not take place in the capital--the life of the second all-union program went along its regular course. It goes without saying, the real reserve of artistic broadcasting are numerous films, concerts, and plays--there are quite a few of them on the air. It is a pity that they are given unsystematically, there is no purely television organization of this stream. At times the information about the broadcasts is inadequate. For example, in the television program it is announced: "Documentary film", "Concert of artistic collectives". What is this supposed to mean? (Such a question is raised by V. Osipov from Ufa in his letter to PRAVDA).

The practice of television showed long ago how the attention of viewers increases at once when films and plays are combined into cycles--linked, let us say, with the name of a great artist or with the life of a certain film genre, if the film is preceded by a word from a film expert, if in each "part" there is a certain continuity and clear ideological and aesthetic program.

With the appearance of the second all-union television program, another long-standing problem, connected with the program composition service, became urgent. This, of course, is difficult--to take into account the interests of the different viewer groups and, what is more, during the short period of "active" evening time. Here only one thing can help: Informality of approach. Let us say, the program must be made up in such a way that the very editors who compose it should want to see it without fail. Then hour-long sports marathons would not run at once on two channels and they would not be replaced simultaneously by music marathons. On one of the Mondays, viewers were offered parallel showings of two theater master pieces--"Khanum" by the Leningrad Academic Order of the Red Banner of Labor Great Dramatic Theater imeni M. Gor'kiy and "An Italian Woman in Algeria" by the Sofia Opera. To make up for it, one then maybe had to wait for weeks to encounter theater art.

It seems the second all-union program could also utilize more fully "the reverse link" with the television viewers, drawing inspiration, in particular, in letters. Television has already given examples of such an approach--we remember the heading "According to Your Letters", which came into being recently in the first program: Plays are created on the basis of the mail received by editors, controversial everyday situations are modeled, as it were, with the aid of television play, and they are offered to us to interpret and discuss.

But this is the first program. But the second program for the time being is in many respects formed from repetitions of broadcasts that have already been featured on the first channel, as well as from broadcasts which, for one reason or another, have not become a hit on the first channel. But something quite different was expected: New energy, new initiatives.

Probably they would appear here if the second all-union program had at its disposal its own editors and services, working only for it. Then an atmosphere of healthy competition would develop, which excludes a formal approach to the enterprise. mobilizes creative energy, and activates the search for lively forms of broadcasting. And this would, to all appearances, help to better coordinate all of the main programs of Central Television.

Thus it is precisely new creative ideas of which the second all-union program for the time being does not have enough. And this prevents it from becoming a really new program.

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## NATIONAL

### ARTICLE EXAMINES 'BRIBE-TAKERS', 'WITNESSES'

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Jan 84 p 3

[Article by A. Illesh under rubric "Reflections After the Court": "Bribe-Takers and 'Witnesses'"]

[Text] This article could probably also have had the title "Abroad for Bribes." Because we shall have to speak about both topics. This rare case had to be "unraveled" by the investigators of the Moscow City Procurator's Office.

I hasten to report that all those persons who enriched themselves at the expense of presents, tips, offerings made in gratitude, and completely material expressions of friendly feelings, and, putting it simply, bribes, have been sentenced to long terms of deprivation of freedom [imprisonment]. What was illegally gained has been confiscated. But, as people generally say, this does not exhaust the topic. A bribe, if one can express it this way, changes its form and "grows," together with life, and gradually "modernizes itself." And this process forces people to think carefully about it -- and not only those in the legal profession. . .

As in classic drama, what we had here was a kind of triunity. In any instance, there was a unity of place and action. This is what happened: K. transmitted to Polyanskiy a bribe -- the latest payment of 500 rubles -- in the ministry lavatory. Now he was firmly counting on going on a detached-duty assignment to Japan. But let's take things in their proper order.

The following statement was made in the indictment: "One of the areas of activity of the UVS (Administration of Foreign Relations, of the Ministry of Higher and Secondary Special Education) is the sending of workers on detached-duty assignments abroad for the purpose of working in a probationary status, the giving of lectures, etc. These functions are carried out, in particular, by the department for cooperation with capitalist countries and the department for the selection and organization of training of candidates for scientific probationary work. . . . Knowing about the situation that exists, the candidates for the trips sensed their dependent situation upon the employees in those departments. . . . When trips abroad were being formalized. . . the scientific workers attempted, by the giving of presents, to achieve a favorable attitude toward themselves on the part of the person who was formalizing the trip. That was done so that, during personal contacts, it would be possible more rapidly to resolve the questions arising during the formalization of the trip. . . ."

That is how an atmosphere was created in which a "present" -- a tape recorder or phonograph player, an electronic watch or a leather jacket, stereo speakers or an automobile antenna, not to mention a thick envelope filled with paper money -- became, wild as it might seem, just an ordinary event.

The following is an excerpt from the official statement: "Polyanskiy, Aleksandr Petrovich, born 1945, CPSU member, higher legal education; worked as an expert in the department for cooperation with capitalist countries; no prior convictions. Popov, Sergey Aleksandrovich, born 1944, CPSU member, higher education; worked as senior expert in the same department; no prior convictions."

As the expression goes, everything is clear with the questionnaire. But now let us become acquainted with their work. Not the work for which, twice a month, they signed the pay record card, but the other work that made it possible for them to furnish their apartments with electronic equipment, to get personal cars for themselves, to improve their everyday living conditions, and beautify their wives. For that purpose, let us return to the corridors of the ministry.

K. received the preference in being sent on detached duty in a scientific probationary status to Japan and underwent the preparation courses. However, for a long period of time he did not receive any information about the forthcoming trip. A year went by, then another. Suddenly he learned that two responsible workers from Minvuz were coming to Kaunas. A banquet was being arranged in this connection. The banquet location was already selected -- the sauna. And it was at that steamy location that he became acquainted with Polyanskiy and Popov. But this time he could not find out anything from them. More months went by. Finally a friend told him that, in order to have a favorable outcome to his agitation, it was necessary for him to give Polyanskiy a thousand rubles. And when Polyanskiy turned up in Kaunas, they met again. After the by now customary sauna they agree to meet the next day at the Baltiya Hotel. It was there, in response to the incomprehensible mumbling of K., that Polyanskiy responded with disheartening directness, "I know, I know. Hand it over!"

The situation shifted its location, and rapidly approached the status of a criminal case -- the first 500 rubles were handed over. The second 500 rubles, which were delivered in a delicate location, were reported briefly by us. Everything was arranged cunningly: by that time K. already had his foreign passport, but he did not have an air ticket. An envelope filled with money, in exchange for a neat little Aeroflot booklet. Immediately Polyanskiy and Popov carried out their customary instructional session with K., which ended with the words, "It's possible that you might have the need to buy me (Popov) something when you're out of the country." And this need, understandably, did arise. The scientist's wife arrived in Japan and said that Popov and Polyanskiy had "requested" a radio receiver. And so K. bought a radio-record player. That technical wonder, produced by the Sony company, beautified Popov's apartment.

Can it be that there had arisen for K. some objective difficulties that prevented the scientist from getting to the Country of the Rising Sun for the

purpose of raising his scientific potential? No, he was simply. . . led around by the nose. But even he himself did not think too deeply about the situation when he put the money into the envelopes for the extortionists. This is what Polyanskiy stated at the confrontation: "When I took the money, I already knew that the question about the probationary assignment. . . had been decided positively." Let me add something. This trio had it in their power either simply to deceive the candidates for the overseas assignments, or, to a certain degree, to delay or speed up the processing of the documents.

A. was getting ready to go to Great Britain. It was also on a scientific assignment. Polyanskiy engaged in drawing up the departure documents. The future traveler met several times with him, Kuzovlev, and Popov, and treated them to dinners at his expense. Of course, they were not table d'hôte. He easily understood the hint given by motorist Polyanskiy that his car did not have a special antenna. A.'s files got moved ahead. Only a few days remained until his departure. Again the corridors in Minvuz. . . It was here that Polyanskiy told the probationer that Popov (whom he introduced as his chief) had a request. They went into an office. Popov took out a stylish, glossy catalogue. His wife's birthday was in the autumn, and therefore it would be nice if he could bring her a present from the banks of the Thames. Opening the catalogue, Popov slyly pointed out a gold ring with a sapphire: "That's my wife's birthstone." Then he handed over the departure documents to A., who had understood everything. But Polyanskiy also had his interest. Upon returning from the foreign duty assignment, A. gave him Vneshposyltorg checks in the amount of 640 rubles. . .

These two stories are as similar as the smooth and successful questionnaires of the bribe-takers. Incidentally, one could also relate a large number of other stories, but they also are standard ones as though they had been stamped out by the bribe-takers. For example, this is how they pulled the wool over the eyes of D., who was planning to go to the Country of Tulips. They convinced him that, when preparing for the trip, it was necessary to keep the strictest watch on each stage through which the documents were passing. And it was necessary, in difficult situations, to have the ruble also go into action (Polyanskiy depicted this extremely precisely by moving his fingers). After all, this Holland is complicated, very complicated. And so they pulled, pulled, pulled . . . money.

The result? For D. it was doubly sad: he was left completely broke and he never did get to go abroad. As I became acquainted with the details of the case, I could not help being surprised by the large number of persons with whom the by no means holy trinity had had mercantile contacts. Numerous names -- K.'s, L.'s, S.'s, B.'s, P., K's, B.'s, B. Who are they, anyway? Faceless witnesses? Let's not rush. . .

The portrait of the bribe-takers is clear. The atmosphere, the moral climate of the department where they worked are described with sufficient precision by one of the "heroes." "When I started working at that department," Kuzovlev wrote in his "declaration," "I noticed that it was considered normal there to accept souvenirs and presents. At first it jarred me. But, as far as I could make out, it was a kind of tradition and the bosses did not pay any attention to this course of events, so I went along with it."



But what to do with these numerous witnesses who subsequently wrote explanations, and discussed and gave testimony about the specific circumstances, the dates, and the specific present, souvenir, or envelope that was handed over?

Yes, it's no easy thing to prove that a person is a bribe-taker, who "works" one on one, and who under no circumstances advertises his activities. Who can be a witness? Who will confirm, "Yes, there was a bribe"? Most frequently it is the person giving the bribe. Who calls upon the force of law in other circumstances? Once again, the same person who gives the bribe (true, it sometimes happens that he is the potential offerer of the bribe). He helps to give the criminal a "good solid seat" on the dock, while at the same time he himself -- if one follows the letter of the law -- is also a criminal. . .

People might object to this statement, saying there's nothing here to make a fuss about. In our instance, Polyanskiy, Popov, and Kuzovlev, in order to grab onto money for themselves, used their official position, because if you don't pay (bring, deliver, give, or treat to dinner), important business trips would be disrupted, dissertations would disappear into oblivion, scientific plans would be ruined. . .

Arguments like this are sheer fantasy. But they are like smoke in a room where a lot of people have been smoking: you open up the ventilation pane and the air becomes fresher. Why is it that all these dozens of future scientists, or persons who have already become scientists, remained silent and paid? For such a long time! Why didn't they object, why didn't they, in the final analysis, look deeply into either their own conscience or the Criminal Code? If these so-called witnesses had demonstrated elementary honesty at the very first moment, after the first dirty hint. . . But no! The weighty tomes of the criminal case contain facts to the effect that, for the sake of the future foreign trips, students, postgraduate students, candidates, and doctors persistently sought meetings with the bribe-takers, and sometimes even brought things with them without any special agreements to do so. By that means people who, in essence, did not resolve the questions of the foreign trips acquired a halo of omnipotence. A false, but, alas, effective one. . .

Criminal law recognizes situations that vindicate the giver of a bribe. Take the following situation. A family with a large number of children has to have an apartment. But the people formalizing the apartment authorization deliberately take their time about it, using their conduct to encourage the desperate people to take the last step. . . They hint, "It's necessary to 'lubricate' things. . ." The family's last savings transfer into the bribe-taker's pockets. In a situation like this, it is possible that the person offering the bribe may not be brought to criminal responsibility -- the people had been forced to fork out the money. I want to convince myself that the trips abroad for all the "heroes" of this report were just as vitally necessary. I want to, but I cannot. The facts of the criminal case do not fit into a logical sequence that is convenient for this conclusion. They do not form a harmonious chain that would justify the witnesses in my eyes. The

word witnesses should be in quotation marks in our instance. That way it would help to prove to the reader that what is black is gray.

The trips abroad by Soviet specialists are currently an ordinary, routine event. And, of course, these detached-duty assignments are regulated not by the associates at the administration who have become bribe-takers. But they created the appearance that everything depended upon them. And they seduced others, especially young people.

Even after being freed from criminal responsibility, the offerers of bribes cannot fail to evoke moral censure. And they cannot cast even a feeble shadow on those for whom the sense of a foreign duty assignment is completely clear: scientific work.

And so, why did we decide to return anew to this criminal case? The criminals, I repeat, have been sentenced, and the shameful situation that prevailed in one of the subdivisions of the department has received thoroughgoing party evaluation. But today, the former witnesses in Case No. 49117 are arriving at laboratories of scientific-research institutes, the teaching departments of higher educational institutions, and auditoriums that are filled with students. These are instructors and assistant professors. Educators. What will they write in their monographs? What will they say in their lectures? Will their words and their written lines be honest?

I don't know. . .

5075

CSO: 8144/0720

NATIONAL

DISSIDENT PEACE ACTIVIST DENIES HE WAS SENTENCED FOR BELIEFS

Moscow APN DAILY REVIEW in English 27 Jan 84 pp 1-3

[Article: "Apropos in Confidence or Radzinsky vs Reagan"]

[Text] Last autumn, a certain Oleg Radzinsky, 25, was sentenced in Moscow to 5 years of exile. In the Western mass media he was widely publicised as leader of so-called "confidence" group whose proclaimed aim is to improve relations between the USSR and the USA and promote trust between East and West.

President Reagan went on record in defence of Radzinsky, describing him as a "victim of injustice," and cited his case as "evidence that the Soviet authorities were imprisoning people campaigning for genuine disarmament."

As the Novosti Press Agency has established, Oleg Radzinsky, learning of that remark by the American president, sent an open letter to him not so long ago, from faraway Minaevka in Siberia. His letter reads in part:

"I was convicted not of struggle for peace, but of concrete deeds whose criminal character I partially admit and plead guilty of. But neither what I plead guilty of nor even what I do not plead guilty of has anything to do with the struggle for peace: neither the investigating officers nor the court ever, I repeat ever, mentioned my membership of, and my participation in, the Moscow group of 'confidence'. And you, Mr President, make it appear that I was condemned precisely as a peace campaigner, as a believer in confidence and as a member of that group. This is a lie, which is abhorrent in itself. Moreover, it is a lie from the lips of the President of a great power. And as such it assumes the character of an official point of view which shapes public opinion....

"I am convinced that it is my duty as a Christian to stop the lies and deceit. ...No one is entitled to turn the cause of confidence into one of non-confidence, as you, Mr President, are trying to. Using my name, you are attempting to find yet another pretext for siting missiles on the European continent. And how can you, you personally, declare that peace activists in the USSR are being repressed when you, having overruled the will of millions of people in your country and in Western Europe, are turning our continent into an arms depot, and inhabitants of the continent, into hostages. You have not been stopped by thousand-strong demonstrations by peace campaigners in the West and the East of our planet. You, who are so fond of shouting about democracy and

the will of the nation, have abased democracy in your country, starting the manufacture of MX missiles, although American peace supporters were unanimously against it. You have insulted democracy in West European countries, literally forcing the governments of these countries to agree to the deployment of your missiles, despite population protests. You do not want to respond to real Soviet proposals for cuts in arms in Europe, though such proposals are constantly coming from our state.

"So who cannot be trusted: you and your administration or the Soviet Government?" Oleg Radzinsky asks in his "Open Letter."

"...The level of ill will between the governments of our countries is great indeed, Mr President," Radzinsky goes on to say. "This is due to many factors, the decisive ones being, I am convinced, the actions of the present American administration. You, for your part, are trying to transform mistrust between the peoples by slandering our country. This I cannot support and permit. And for this reason I emphatically forbid you or any one else to use my name and my cause as a pretext for whipping up mistrust, to use them for a provocative purpose...."

"Never will the punishment meted out to me be my excuse to be silent about the truth, whoever I must tell it to," the convict Oleg Radzinsky writes in conclusion. "And I am telling it openly and publicly, as I have always done so: you are trying to deceive people by holding forth about reprisals against Soviet peace champions. And if you have an elementary idea of honour and conscience, then you will publicly declare, as I have done, that you were mistaken in citing me as an example of a confidence advocate who has suffered. I am not one. God has entrusted us, people, with land. To survive on it, we must confide in each other. And that who tries to sow mistrust God will punish, turning his name into a symbol of the enemy of mankind and humaneness."

It would seem this neatly sums it all up--but for one circumstance. Radzinsky sent copies of his "Open Letter" to a number of news agencies, including Western correspondents accredited at Moscow, since, as he noted in a covering note, "the need to restore the truth compels me to make a public statement...." Radzinsky further expressed the hope that the recipients would become "intermediaries between me and the addressee, as well as broad sections of the Western public." A Reuter correspondent, in particular, sent out a very brief report about this and Radzinsky's "Open Letter."

The very fact, however, that the letter from Radzinsky, now in exile, came through ordinary Soviet mail, caused this British correspondent perplexity, to put it mildly: nothing of the kind has happened before! Well then, this is also understandable--since it has long become the habit with Western journalists to trust only letters and reports that reach them exclusively through secret and illegal channels, even if those letters contain patent non-sense. And here, of all things, the envelope is like any envelope, with postage stamps and cancellation marks.... What can one say about this? Either habit remains second nature or is it just another fresh embarrassment?

(APN, 26 Jan. In full.)

CSO: 1812/115

## NATIONAL

### BOOK ON PSYCHOLOGY OF CRIMINAL GANG LEADERS IN USSR REVIEWED

Alma-Ata IZVESTIYA AKADEMII NAUK KAZAKHSKOY SSR: SERIYA OBSHCHESTVENNYKH NAUK in Russian No 6, 1983 (signed to press 12 Feb 83) pp 78-79

[Review by R. Orymbayev and G. Tlenchiyeva of book "Souchastiye v prestuplenii: kriminologicheskiye i ugovorno-pravovyye problemy" [Complicity in Crime: Criminological and Criminal Law Problems] by U. S. Dzhekebayev, L. M. Vaysberg and R. N. Sudakova, Nauka, Alma-Ata, 1981, 148 pages]

[Text] Preventing crime and gradually overcoming it is the principal direction in the struggle against law violations which follows from the programmed requirements of our party.

In this plan, theoretical research with the purpose of determining the mechanism of a criminal group's functioning, its structure and dynamics, assignment of roles among accomplices, leadership in a criminal group, control of group members' behavior, norms, sanctions, and conformism in a criminal group responds to the most urgent problems in practice.

In analyzing the peculiarities of the psychology of criminal groups, the author of the first part (U. S. Dzhekebayev) believes that they may be understood first of all by sizing up how a criminal accomplice performs one role or another in the process of carrying out a criminal scheme (the executor, organizer, instigator, accomplice); and secondly, after coordinating the acceptance of the role of criminal and selection of the form of criminal act of the groups reviewed with the theory. Based on this concept, he substantiates the position that norms are worked out in the process of a definite criminal scheme which regulate the criminal activity. These model-, limit- and prohibition-norms have been called upon to promote the personal interrelationships of the criminal accomplices and the solidarity of the groups, as well as the development of feelings of a common character, a feeling of "we" (p 13). At the same time, the "ringleaders" in a criminal group, especially in groups which commit continuing crimes, force the accomplices through systems of powers, norms and values which unite the criminal group as a whole toward behavior, and sometimes a way of life as well, accepted in their environment (p 55).

L. M. Vaysberg examined leadership in a criminal group. He set two important tasks for himself: to analyze the nature of leadership and to apply the concept of leadership to criminology and criminal law. The author sees the substance of leadership as "the system-producing and system-forming factor of social unification" (p 83). A leader, in the author's opinion, is first of all an "ideologue"; he lays the platform of spiritual unity and proposes the value algorithm of group activities (pp 80, 81). But the leader of a criminal group and the organizer and instigator are by no means identical characters, although the criminal group leader is compatible with any one of the accomplices: he may assume the role of organizer, instigator, accomplice, executor. The leader of a criminogenic or criminal grouping, being its "spiritual mentor," may not be involved in the criminally punishable actions of its members. Unquestionably, by remaining out of reach of criminal law, the leader often represents a greater public danger than ordinary members of a group against whom criminal proceedings are instituted as accomplices of a crime. Possessing a pernicious ability to unite about him morally unstable individuals on the basis of vicious ideas, he creates new criminals. Such a conclusion, unquestionably, is valuable, inasmuch as it orients practical workers toward the legalization of such leaders with the aim of correcting them through preventive measures, and this in turn is one of the ways of preventing and eliminating group crimes.

The concluding chapter of the monograph is devoted to the problem of the individualization of criminal responsibility when there is complicity in a crime (R. N. Sudakova). In it the author substantiates the presence of independent components of a crime on the part of each accomplice and from these positions demonstrates the need for improvement in the formula in effect for the qualification of complicity by means of indicating specific parts of Article 17 of the UK [Criminal Code] of the Kazakh SSR, which reflects the role of an accomplice in a crime that has been committed. Only the author's assertion that application of suppression measures is an integral part of the individualization of responsibility arouses objection (p 111). In the first place, the employment of suppression measures in the process of investigating a criminal act relates to criminal trial [ugolovno-protsessual'nyye] measures, but not to criminal law measures. Secondly, it contradicts the principle of a criminal trial of the presumption of innocence, and finally, thirdly, such an assertion suggests the idea that criminal responsibility is realized not from the moment that sentence is passed, but from the moment that suppression measures are employed, and this, in turn, contradicts the constitutional principle that justice is administered only by the court.

On the whole, the monograph enriches the practice and theory of the bases of managing the struggle against crime.

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## REGIONAL

### KHALILOV SPEAKS AT ELECTORAL OKRUG

Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 30 Dec 83 p 3

[Speech of Deputy K. A. Khalilov at the Baku--Shaumyanov Election Okrug, AzSSR]

[Text] Dear Fellow Deputies!

The present session of the USSR Supreme Soviet is being held at an important and exceedingly responsible stage of the struggle for the fulfillment of the tasks of the 11th Five-Year-Plan. Amidst great labor and patriotic enthusiasm, the Soviet people is completing the year 1983. Under the guidance of the Communist Party, the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the directions of the November (1982) and June (1983) Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee are being consistently realized.

The work of the party performed during the past year was summed up by the December Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. In its documents, in the provisions, conclusions, and recommendations advanced by the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, comrade Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov, a profound and scientifically-grounded characterization of the contemporary stage of economic and cultural construction was given, concrete tasks of economic and social development for 1984 were set, and the most important directions in the struggle of the workers for the realization of the plans of communist creation.

The decisions of the past Plenum aim the Soviet people toward the increase in the efficiency of the national economy and contain concrete measures, prompted by experience and by all of life, in regard to the overall improvement of the mechanism of the management of the economy. The tasks advanced by Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov arm the party and all Soviet people with a concrete program of practical actions with respect to the realization of the plans of socio-economic construction and mobilize [them] for new labor accomplishments.

The workers of Azerbaijan, as also the entire Soviet people, received the decisions of the December Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee with great enthusiasm. They unanimously support the wise domestic and foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state, and they express sincere thanks to the Central Committee of our party, its Politburo, with comrade Yu. V. Andropov at the head. (Applause).



The declarations of Yu. V. Andropov received a broad response in the hearts of the Soviet people, including among the workers of our republic. They resounded all over the world with a weighty warning to the lovers of military adventures and their reckless policy. In these documents, the unshakable devotion of the Soviet Union to a peaceful foreign policy, to a fundamental policy aimed at putting an end to the arms race and securing peace in the world, found clear confirmation.

The workers of Azerbaijan distinctly acknowledge that the guarantee of all further successes of our country is the realization of the projected plans of economic and social development, the strenuous and conscientious labor of everyone in his sector.

Under the guidance of the party organizations, insistent organizational and mass-political work is conducted in the republic in regard to strengthening and increasing the glorious traditions established in the 9th and 10th Five-Year-Plans.

In incorporating in practical matters the decisions of the November (1982) and the June (1983) Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee, and the instructions of Yu. V. Andropov, the workers of all sectors of the national economy of Azerbaijan are completing the current year with good indicators. The annual plan for the sale of production and the output of many very important articles was fulfilled ahead of schedule--on 23 December. The economy of the republic is developing at stable rates of growth, considerable results have been attained in increasing production efficiency and the standard of living of the population. During the 3 years of the 11th Five-Year-Plan, the national income will grow by 17 percent, the volume of industrial production--by 18.2 percent, which is higher than the target of the five-year-plan. Labor productivity will grow by 13.2 percent and exceed the plan target. The plan for the output of goods with the Emblem of Quality is being overfulfilled, and the proportion of these goods in the total volume of production amounts to 15.5 percent. There has been a significant increase in profit and in other indicators of production efficiency.

High results were achieved in agriculture. The plans and socialist obligations with respect to the sale of all basic agricultural crops to the state were significantly overfulfilled. In particular, 361,000 tons of grain, 846,000 tons of raw cotton, and 1.623 million tons of grapes and 662,000 tons of vegetables were sold to the state. Important limits in animal husbandry were attained. As a whole, the gross production of the agricultural sector for the 3 years will increase by 29 percent compared to the average annual level of the 10th Five-Year-Plan.

There was an increase in the efficiency of capital investments and the rates of the introduction of fixed capital increased. Effective measures have been carried out in regard to the concentration of material and labor resources on construction starts and the most important projects.

In spite of the existing successes, we also see very well unresolved problems and shortcomings. The party organization of the republic directs the soviet

and economic organs, the efforts of all the workers of Azerbaijan toward the exposure and realization of new reserves for the acceleration of the growth rates of public production and the increase of its efficiency.

Large and complex tasks will have to be solved in the sphere of the acceleration of scientific-technical progress, measures will have to be realized in regard to the further improvement of planning and all economic activity, the strengthening of socialist labor discipline, and the elimination of important shortcomings in the development of the brigade form of labor organization, and the proper order and discipline will have to be brought into the fulfillment of contractual obligations with respect to production deliveries.

A great deal will still have to be done for the organization of efficient work of all the links of the agro-industrial complex and the adjustment of the correct economic relations of agriculture with all sectors and subsectors of the national economy concomitant to it.

The work in regard to the economical and rational utilization of material resources, especially oil products and electric energy, requires every conceivable effort. We are also confronted with the urgent task of developing and realizing a complex of measures for securing the unconditional fulfillment of the plans of housing and social and everyday services construction as a whole for the 11th Five-Year-Plan, the improvement of the entire sphere of service to the population, and--what is especially important--the increase in the production level of consumer goods and an improvement of their quality. In this connection I would like to touch on several concrete questions.

Progressive equipment and technology are still being introduced at a slow rate. In the enterprises of some sectors reconstruction and technical re-equipment are carried out without integration, the terms of their completion drag out for many years, and at times obsolete technical decisions are made. For example, the Baku Tire Plant lagged significantly behind many enterprises of the industry with respect to technical equipment, as the result of which it was unable to make the transition to the output of tires of modern construction. The same situation prevails also in the plants for technical rubber products. We are asking the USSR Ministry of the Petroleum Refining and Petrochemical Industry to examine these questions.

It also troubles us that during the past few years the rates of the renovation of machine building production have slowed down. Some newly introduced models of machines, equipment and instruments still are not up to the mark of the most progressive domestic and world achievements. Thus, for example, the Baku Instrument Building Plant is turning out products of more than 60 designations, many of which do not meet the requirements of today's time. Also in need of renovation is the production of the Baku Dry-Type Transformer and High-Voltage Plants and Bakelektroavtomat [Baku Plant for Electro-Automatism]. In this the assistance of the appropriate union ministries is necessary.

Of importance is also the following question. The reconstruction of the Azerbaijan Pipe Rolling Plant has been envisaged. Intended is the construction of a plant for the thermal galvanizing of tubing string and a plant for the

geological survey pipes, for which an extreme need is observed. Meanwhile this work has not yet begun. We are turning to the government with the request to assist in the acceleration of the beginning of the erection of these projects.

Comrade deputies! In the solution of the national economic tasks confronting the republic, an important role belongs to the Soviets of People's Deputies. They mobilize the efforts of the economic organs and labor collectives for the intensification of public production and the increase of its efficiency, the strengthening of labor discipline and the securing of the rational use of manpower resources, and devote a great deal of attention to the improvement of the conditions of work, everyday life and recreation of the workers, kolkhoz farmers and employees.

The decree "On the Work of the Soviets of People's Deputies of the Azerbaijan SSR With Respect to the Fulfillment of the Requirements of the Legislation on Strengthening Labor Discipline and Securing the Rational Utilization of Manpower Resources", adopted by the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet in June of this year, has been of great help to us in increasing the organizational role of the Soviets.

It can be reported to the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet: The losses of working time in production in the republic have decreased, there has been a significant increase in the organization and efficiency of work, and there has been a significant increase in the role of the labor collectives, which was encouraged to a large extent by the Law on Labor Collectives, adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Comrades! The elections to the USSR Supreme Soviet will become an important event in the socio-political life of our country. The entire election campaign and the elections will be a new and powerful manifestation of the further development of socialist democracy, an exacting review of the activity of the Soviets of People's Deputies and all state organs, and will serve as an enormous factor in the fulfillment of the concrete tasks of the economic, socio-political and spiritual development of Soviet society.

Comrade deputies! The drafts of the State Plan for the Economic and Social Development and the Budget of the USSR for 1984, reports on which were presented by comrades Baybakov, N. K., and Garbuzov, V. F., were developed in accordance with the directions of the November (1982) and June (1983) Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee and the speeches of comrade Yu. V. Andropov. They clearly reflect the policy of the Communist Party aimed at the further increase of the well-being of the Soviet people and every conceivable strengthening of the power of our Homeland. All of this provides the basis for supporting the proposal concerning the confirmation of these important state documents.

In the coming year, the republic faces large and responsible tasks with respect to the further development of the national economy. The state plans that have been developed are taut, but realistic.

The workers of Azerbaijan assure their native Communist Party, the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee with comrade Yu. V. Andropov at the head, the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the Soviet Government, that all efforts will be made to fulfill the targets for 1984 and the 11th Five-Year-Plan as a whole, and that through their labor they will make a worthy contribution to the realization of the program of socio-economic construction of our country projected by the party.

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## REGIONAL

### PERMANENT COMMISSIONS MEET BEFORE AZERBAIJAN SUPREME SOVIET

Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 31 Dec 83 p 3

[AzerINFORM article: "Before a Session of the AzSSR Supreme Soviet"]

[Text] At the upcoming 8th Session of the AzSSR Supreme Soviet of the 10th Convocation, it is planned to review the State Plan of the Economic and Social Development of the AzSSR for 1984 and the preliminary results of the plan fulfillment in 1983, the State Budget of the AzSSR for 1984, and the report on the fulfillment of the budget for 1982. For the preliminary discussion of the plan and budget, 13 preparatory commissions were formed by the Planning and Budget and other commissions of the AzSSR Supreme Soviet.

Proceeding from the tasks set in the decisions of the party, the speeches of the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, comrade Yu. V. Andropov, the deputies thoroughly discussed the drafts of the plan and the budget. The preliminary results of the plan fulfillment of the current year and the execution of the budget in 1982 were analyzed, unutilized reserves were exposed for the increase of labor productivity, the reduction of production cost, the timely fulfillment of contractual obligations, and concrete recommendations were made for the improvement of all of the work. Reports and communications were presented by the directors of ministries, state committees and departments of the republic, administrations and associations of union subordination situated in the territory of the AzSSR, as well as by representatives of the Council of Ministers of the Nakhichevan ASSR and the Nagorno-Karabakh Oblispolkom, the chairmen of the ispolkoms of the Councils of People's Deputies of the cities of the republic.

On 29 December the concluding plenary session of the Planning and Budget Commission and other permanent commissions of the AzSSR Supreme Soviet took place.

Deputy N. S. Fataliyev, chairman of the Preparatory Commission for Fuel and Energy Industry, reported on the results of the preliminary review of the State Plan of the Economic and Social Development of the AzSSR for 1984 and on the preliminary results of the plan fulfillment in 1983.

Deputy A. Yu. Nasibov, chairman of the Permanent Commission for Consumer Products and Trade, reported on the results of the preliminary review of the State Budget of the AzSSR for 1984 and the report on the execution of the budget in 1982,

The participants of the plenary session in the main approved the draft conclusions on the plan and the budget.

The following officials spoke at the session: The deputy chairman of the AzSSR Council of Ministers, the chairman of Gosplan, A. N. Mutalibov, and the AzSSR Minister of Finance, B. G. Bakhshaliyev, who thanked the members of the commissions and noted that all of the observations and recommendations developed in the course of the review of the plan and the budget will be taken into consideration.

The participants in the session included the chairman of the AzSSR Council of Ministers, S. A. Rustamzade, the secretary of the Presidium of the AzSSR Supreme Soviet, R. S. Kaziyeva, the chief of the economic section of the Central Committee of the Azerbaijan CP, Z. A. Samedzade, directors of ministries, state committees and departments of the republic, administrations and associations of union subordination located in the territory of the AzSSR, responsible officials of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, the Council of Ministers, and the Committee of People's Control of the AzSSR.

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CSO: 1830/236

## REGIONAL

### BAKU GORKOM HOLDS CONFERENCE

#### Information Report

Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 22 Dec 83 p 1

[Article: "The 45th Baku City Party Conference -- Urgent Tasks of the Azerbaijan Capital City's Communists"]

[Text] Baku workers have come to the finish of the middle year of the 11th Five-Year Plan in an excellent working frame of mind. Expanding socialist competition for fulfilling assignments and plans of the five-year plan on the whole ahead of schedule, the workers are full of determination to translate the plans of the 26th CPSU Congress, and the November 1982 and June 1983 Plenums of the Central Committee of the party into life through their own self-sacrificing labor. Fervently approving the Leninist domestic policy of the Communist Party and Soviet State which has been confirmed once again in the Announcement of the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the USSR Supreme Council Presidium Comrade Yu. V. Andropov, workers of the Azerbaijan capital city, like all Soviet people, are striving to enlarge their contribution toward strengthening the economic and defense might of our great native land -- a reliable guarantor of peace on earth. And, as always, Baku Communists are in the forefront of the drive to implement party decisions.

The 45th Baku City Party Conference, which opened on 21 December at the Club imeni F. E. Dzerzhinskiy, is discussing tasks for further improving activities of the city party organization and enlarging its role in the cause of building communism.

At the presidium are comrades K.M. Bagirov, O.A. Bagirov, G.A. Gasanov, S.Ch. Kasumova, I.A. Mamedov, F.E. Musayev, G.N. Seidov, S.B. Tatliyev, K.A. Khalilov, Z.M. Yusif-zade, D.M. Muslim-zade, L.Kh. Rasulova, G.Sh. Efendiyev, and responsible employee of the CPSU Central Committee N.V. Zhuravlev.

First secretary of the Baku party gorkom F.E. Musayev opened the conference.

With great enthusiasm the CPSU Central Committee Politburo headed by Yu. V. Andropov was elected as an honorary presidium.



The working organs of the conference are being elected.

The following agenda was unanimously ratified:

- 1) Report by the Baku City Committee of the Azerbaijan Communist Party.
- 2) Report by the auditing commission of the Baku city organization of the Azerbaijan Communist Party.
- 3) Election of managers of organs of the Baku city organization of the Azerbaijan Communist Party.

The first secretary of the gorkom F.E. Musayev presented the report of the Baku City Committee of the Azerbaijan Communist Party.

Then the conference heard the report of the auditing commission by its chairman S.M. Sungurov.

Speaking in discussions on the reports were: A.M. Sadykhov, first secretary of the Leninskiy Raykom of the party; L.S. Indina, administrator of the Novobakinskiy Oil Refinery imeni Valdimir Il'ich and member of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee; N.N. Nadzhafov, first secretary of the Azizbekovskiy Raykom of the party, E.A. Bagdasarov, brigade foreman of the Oil-Industry Machine-Building Plant imeni P. Montin, A.D. Dzhalilov, first secretary of the Nasiminskiy Raykom of the party; G.A. Nadzhafora, seamstress at the Baku Footwear Factory imeni 60-Letiya USSR, G.I. Stepanov, first secretary of the Kirovskiy Raykom of the party; S.G. Agasiyeva, teacher at School No 56; N.Kh. Akhmedov, chairman of Baku City Soviet ispolkom; A.N. Guseinov, machine operator at the Baladzhary Station locomotive depot; Kh.Ya. Khalilov, first secretary of the Imeni 26 Bakinskikh Komissarov Raykom of the party; N.Ya. Sitnikova, packager at the Baku Caramel Factory; K.A. Abasov, chief of the Kaspimorneftegazprom All-Union Industrial Association; S. K. Aliyev, first secretary of the Oktyabr'skiy Raykom of the party; R.Sh. Kuprov, brigade foreman of assemblers at House-Building Combine No 2 of Glavbakstroy [possibly Main Administration of Baku Construction]; A.Ya. Bolotin, first secretary of Karadagskiy Raykom of the party; I.A. Ibragimov, rector of the Azerbaijan Institute of Oil and Chemistry imeni M. Azizbekov; G.S. Fataliyev, first secretary of the Nizaminskiy Raykom of the party; A.M. Masimov, first deputy chairman of the ispolkom of the Baku City Soviet; R.I. Rasulov, chief of the Administration of Internal Affairs of the Baku City isopolkom; B.A. Rzayev, chairman of the republic's Council of Revolutionary Fame and member of the CPSU since 1920; T.A. Kuliyeu, secretary of the Azerbaijan Union of Composers; V.G. Kalinin, member of the Military Council -- chief of the political department of the Order of the Red Banner Caspian Flotilla; K.M. Bayramov, secretary of the partkom of Azerbaijan State University imeni S.M. Kirov; and O.A. Salamov, chairman of the Baku City Committee of People's Control.

Today, 22 December, the conference is continuing its work.

## Bagirov Speech At Conference

Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 25 Dec 83 pp 1-3

[Article: "Speech of the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Azerbaijan Communist Party K.M. Bagirov at the 45th Baku City Party Conference, 22 December 1983 -- Improve the Style of Work and Achieve New Successes"]

[Text] Dear comrades!

The 45th Baku City Party Conference concludes an important phase of the report-election campaign -- rayon and city conferences of party organizations in Azerbaijan. It may be said with complete assurance that they have progressed to a high organizational and ideological-political level and have become genuine militant inspections of our party efforts.

Allow me in the name of the Central Committee of the Azerbaijan Communist Party to give a warm and heartfelt welcome to the delegates of the conference and to the whole famous 136,000-strong Baku party organization -- the vanguard of the Azerbaijan Communist Party and to wish all of you new successes in fulfilling decisions of the 26th Congress of the Leninist Party.

The 45th Baku Party Conference is moving to an important time -- the finish of the middle year of the 11th Five-Year Plan. The Soviet people in circumstances of great labor and political enthusiasm are purposefully endeavoring to implement the decisions of the 26th party congress and the November 1982 and June 1983 Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee. This period has been filled with the creative work of the party and people and the efficiency of social production and the people's welfare are steadily increasing. The sectors of industry which determine scientific-technical progress are developing at fast rates. Much has been done to implement the Food Program. In 1983 more grain, potatoes, sugar beets, and other agricultural output was grown and procured than last year. There has also been significant progress in the development of animal husbandry.

Soviet people are looking to the future with assurance; they are well aware that their labor and the achievements of the national economy are a solid basis for growth in the defensive might and international authority of our country. The course of development of events in the world arena and strained conditions caused by the rash actions of the Reagan administration demand from each one of us even greater responsibility, discipline, and vigilance.

Working people of Azerbaijan and of its capital Baku, like all Soviet people, wholeheartedly support and unanimously approve the domestic and foreign policies of our party and the announcement of Comrade Yu. V. Andropov. By their own self-sacrificing labor they are making worthy contributions to strengthening the economic and defense potential of the Country of the Soviets.

Past years of the five-year plan have been a period of continued accelerated development of the economy and increased efficiency and quality of all work

for the republic working people. The volume of industrial production has increased by 1.4 times compared to the corresponding period of the 10th Five-Year Plan. Based on results of the first three years we anticipate an increase in industrial production of 18.2 percent as against the assigned 17 percent. Qualitative indicators of the work of industry have been raised. Labor productivity rose by 13.2 percent, which corresponds to the five-year plan assignment, and more than three-quarters of the increase in industrial output was achieved through this indicator. The plan for producing manufactured articles with the Mark of Quality is being overfulfilled and their proportion totals 15.5 percent. Output-capital ratio, profit, and other indicators of production efficiency have increased significantly.

Agriculture is growing at a fast rate. Average annual volume of its gross output has exceeded the level of the five-year plan by 17.5 percent and the average annual volume of production for the first three years of the 10th Five-Year Plan was exceeded by 1.4 times. It is especially gratifying that the increase in production of agricultural output will be achieved primarily through intensive factors. In 1983 under difficult weather conditions rural laborers carried out all jobs in an organized manner and fulfilled national economic plans and socialist obligations for production and sale to the state of grain, raw cotton, grapes, vegetables, fruits, potatoes, green tea leaves, and all other kinds of crop-farming output ahead of schedule. Livestock farmers are steadily increasing production and overfulfilling plans for procurement of livestock and poultry, milk, eggs, and wool. The feed base of livestock breeding has been significantly increased. Labor productivity in agriculture has been raised.

In the first three years of the 11th Five-Year Plan an extensive program of capital construction has been implemented. Seven billion rubles have been invested in developing the national economy and fixed capital valued at approximately 6 billion rubles has been introduced, which is 37 and 32 percent more respectively than for the same period of the 10th Five-Year Plan.

Much is being done to increase the well-being of workers. National income produced, which more fully reflects the level of economic development, in 1983 will increase as compared to 1980 by 16 percent rather than the 13 percent five-year plan assignment. Real per capital income will increase by 9.4 percent in the first three years, average monthly wages of workers and employees in the national economy will increase by 4.2 percent, and payments and benefits to the population from the social consumption fund have increased. Volume of commodity turnover has risen by 7.6 percent, and domestic services by 31.4 percent.

At the same time when realistically evaluating what has been done, we also see unfulfilled assignments and speak frankly about reserves and opportunities not being used and about our shortcomings. It is precisely upon this that communists and labor collectives have concentrated attention in the course of the report-election campaign. The deep interest of communists in successful implementation of socioeconomic policies of the party, efficiency, and high party exactingness distinguish the majority of report-campaign meetings and conferences. Reports and elections have undergone the beneficial influence of decisions of the November and June Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee

in a situation of principled criticism and self-criticism. Party meetings and conferences are deeply and comprehensively analyzing the work done on fulfilling decisions of the 26th Party Congress, subsequent Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee, and the 30th Azerbaijan Communist Party Congress, and are posing questions involving further improvement of style and methods of party management, strengthening discipline, increasing the level of organization of production and management, and strengthening work on selecting and placing personnel and on communist indoctrination of workers.

A strictly individual approach, demandingness, and high principles are developing when party organs are being formed at all levels. Today the election activity of the republic's primary party organizations includes more than 99,000 communists. More workers and kolkhoz workers have been included in this number. Many national economy specialists have been promoted to management of party organizations and the number of women in management has increased. While on the eve of the reports and elections the number of women among secretaries of party gorkoms and raykoms was only 18.6 percent, now one of the secretaries in practically every party committee is a woman.

The primary result of party meetings and conferences which have taken place in the republic and, one can say with assurance, a primary result of the present 45th Baku city party conference, is that they have all demonstrated the increasing activism and effectiveness of Azerbaijan party organizations and our monolithic unity and close solidarity around the party Central Committee and Politburo headed by Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov.

Comrades! The 45th party conference sums up the work of the city party organization for the last three years. This period, as you know, was filled with many important and complex events in the sociopolitical life of the country, our republic, and the city of Baku, its capital. And we note with great satisfaction today that the Baku party organization and the renowned citizens of Baku have been -- as always -- in the vanguard and have carried out with honor the tasks set by the party and its Central Committee.

The Baku labor force has contributed a great deal to the economy of Azerbaijan. In the first three years of the 11th Five-Year Plan, fixed industrial production capital increased by 14 percent, labor productivity rose by 9.6 percent, and as a result an 80 percent increase in commodity output was achieved. By developing socialist competition to raise production efficiency and the quality of all work, the capital's workers fulfilled the plan for the third year of the five-year plan for production and sales volume of most of the more important kinds of output ahead of schedule. Three billion rubles of capital investment was directed to developing the city's economy; this is 1.3 times as much as in the corresponding period of the 10th Five-Year Plan. Housing and civil construction work was carried on broadly. In the three years Baku citizens received more than 1.5 million square meters of living space, which made it possible for some 170,000 people to improve their housing conditions. Many schools, preschool institutions, public health facilities, trade structures, and domestic service facilities were put into use. Every year our city becomes more beautiful.

Work is continuing to improve the structure of the city's industry. The sectors which determine technical progress are being developed at accelerated rates in order to preserve the leading position of our fuel industry. These sectors are machine building and metalworking, machine tool industry, electrical engineering, radio engineering, instrument making, and others. Their share in the gross output of Baku industry has reached almost 34 percent.

The effectiveness of primary party organizations increased substantially and their influence on the life and affairs of labor collectives was strengthened. All this conclusively attests to the intensified rhythm of the life of our capital and to the fact that the city party organization has maintained a healthy moral atmosphere and a good political frame of mind.

The report of the party gorkom, given by Comrade F. E. Musayev, and the speeches by delegates give a fairly broad picture of the activities of the Baku committee, the party raykoms, and the primary party organizations. They demonstrate the achievements of Baku workers in fulfilling the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the 30th Congress of the Azerbaijan Communist Party. At the same time there was high-principled party discussion of serious shortcomings and omissions in the style and methods of work of the party's city committee in management of ideological work and construction of administrative and cultural buildings. Unfortunately, the Baku gorkom did not develop the proper forms of organizational and political work to implement the decisions of the 44th city party conference and was unable to concentrate the efforts of party organizations on the important directions of economic and social development and on achieving good final results. Although many of the tasks set by the conference were repeatedly examined on different levels and numerous measures were worked out for them, they still did not produce the anticipated result. Serious miscalculations were allowed in selection and placement of personnel. In recent years incompetent people have been promoted into certain sections of party, Soviet, and economic management, including into the gorkom apparatus itself, without taking their moral and political qualities into account. All this attests to the fact that the Baku committee, its bureau, and its secretaries did not draw the correct conclusions from the decisions of the 30th Congress of the Azerbaijan Communist Party and the serious criticism given at the 44th city party conference.

In October of this year the bureau of the Central Committee of the Azerbaijan Communist Party discussed the issue of style and methods of work at the gorkom and were forced to take extreme measures: the first secretary of the party gorkom, Comrade V. A. Guseynov, was relieved of his position for failure to handle his allotted work. The attention of comrades L. A. Sokolov, A. N. Abbasov, and T. D. Akhundov, secretaries of the party gorkom, was drawn to significant shortcomings in their work and lack of principle in deciding a number of questions, especially ones concerning personnel. We also warned other members of the gorkom bureau.

I confess that it was not easy for us to come to such a decision. It was made after prolonged, deep, and thorough study of the state of affairs in the gorkom. This showed us that to act differently was impossible.

In all frankness I must say that a certain share of the blame for the situation that developed in the party gorkom belongs to the departments of the Central Committee of the Azerbaijan Communist Party and to secretaries of the Central Committee.

We note with satisfaction that at past rayon conferences, delegates of the present city party conference unanimously approved the Central Committee decision and the organizational measures it adopted. In personnel policies the Central Committee of the Azerbaijan Communist Party henceforth will follow the Leninist course of high demands from all working people, regardless of their rank and past services, and will evaluate personnel as demanded by the CPSU Central Committee and Yu. V. Andropov, according to their desire to work, not to talk.

In light of the decree of the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Azerbaijan Communist Party concerning the Baku gorkom, I would like to dwell on certain problems which we believe are characteristic and whose solution is a matter of prime importance for the entire city party organization.

The foremost task facing the Baku city committee of the party is to eliminate existing shortcomings as quickly as possible and persistently improve the style and methods of organizational and political work on fulfilling the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress, Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee, and the 30th Congress of the Azerbaijan Communist Party.

In today's edition of PRAVDA the lead article is devoted to just this topic -- improving the style of work. This means that the party sees allout improvement of work style in every section as an important guarantee of our forward progress. And the basic idea of the decree which the CPSU Central Committee adopted a few days ago on work style of the Central Committee of the Moldavian Communist Party, which is applicable to all parties, is that it is directed to all party committees. The topic is improving the style and methods of organizational and political work on fulfilling decisions of the party and raising the efficiency of party management of all of our social life, and doing so with even greater persistence. Above all, it is necessary to develop and establish a creative, scientific approach to solving current problems and instill the qualities of genuine Leninist effectiveness, party principle, self-criticism, personal accountability, ability to rely on the intelligence and know-how of the masses, and the ability to actively influence the mood of the masses and react sensitively to their needs. Another important task is to consolidate and further work to bolster state, plan, and labor discipline, order, and organization. In this connection the Baku party organization is directly obligated to significantly increase the level of party management of all sociopolitical life in the city. The powerful industrial, scientific, and cultural potential of the republic's capital must be utilized more purposefully and with better results.

The recent Plenum of the Central Committee of the Azerbaijan Communist Party conducted a detailed discussion and outlined practical steps to fulfill the decree of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers entitled "Measures for Accelerating Scientific-Technical Progress in the National Economy."



It is difficult to overestimate the role, significance, and potential of the Baku party organization for meeting these challenges. Baku is the large industrial center of our republic; a great majority of our production capital, industrial ministries, state committees, production associations, the Academy of Sciences, and numerous sectorial institutes are concentrated in Baku.

Nonetheless, the potential of the city's industry is far from being utilized fully. The 44th Baku party conference made a thorough critical analysis of the practical activities of the Baku party committee in the area of economic management. Unfortunately, many shortcomings have not been eliminated in recent years and many basic problems which are hindering development of the city's economy are not being solved quickly.

The growth rate of industrial production in Baku is lower than was outlined in the five-year plan. This is chiefly because of Narimanovskiy, Nasiminskiy, Nizaminskiy, Kirovskiy, Ordzhonikidzevskiy, and Karadagskiy rayons, where industry is lagging behind its five-year plan assignments. It is intolerable that more than one-third of the city's enterprises did not fulfill the assignment for growth rates of production volume and more than 70 enterprises permitted production to decrease compared to the corresponding period of last year.

The gorkom and raykoms of the party did not insure fulfillment of the important task of working without anyone lagging behind. The number of enterprises that did not fulfill plans in the report period did not go down; it doubled! Such enterprises were in Kirovskiy, Nasiminskiy, and Nizaminskiy rayons and, strangely, in Ordzhonikidzevskiy Rayon, which at one time came forward with the initiative "Work Without Anyone Lagging Behind."

In such a situation the party gorkom and raykoms and city Soviet and economic organs not only failed to take prompt measures to avoid the lagging; instead many economic managers, with official connivance, were able to reduce their plan requirements, thus creating a situation of apparent well-being. And we must say that they often had good luck. Plans have been lowered by more than 500 million rubles since the start of the five-year plan.

Increasing the efficiency of public production and steady growth in labor productivity are issues of primary importance which determine the movement of the economy along the path of intensification. Unfortunately, the party city committee and a number of party raykoms did not carry on purposeful work in this area either. Since the beginning of the five year plan in the city's industry, the proportion of growth in output realized by raising labor productivity has decreased and the number of enterprises with lower labor productivity has risen by more than 1.4 times. And I especially wanted to emphasize that such an important question as maintaining a proportional ratio between labor productivity and average wages has been overlooked by the gorkom and many raykoms. The party is now devoting serious attention to this matter.

Strengthening contract discipline and insuring reliable deliveries of output is a very pressing question. Almost half of the city's association and enterprises failed to perform assignments for delivery of output this year. An especially

large number of such enterprises were in Nizaminskiy, Narimanovskiy, Nasiminskiy, and Kirovskiy rayons. Comrades, we must investigate this thoroughly, discover the true causes of such phenomena, and hold those responsible to a strict accounting. And the most important thing is to fundamentally correct matters.

The party gorkom and raykoms are not properly concerned with improving the quality and technical level of the output being produced. A great deal of output is still being produced which is inferior to domestic and foreign models. More than 30 Baku enterprises are continuing to produce obsolete articles which are not in demand. It will not do that one-third of the enterprises which produced goods with the Mark of Quality did not manage to fulfill plans for the production of such output, while almost as many again reduced the volume of this output. Unfortunately, positions which had been attained here were lost in many respects. Leninskiy Rayon, which has set an example in this work for many years and initiated the setting up of the comprehensive territorial quality-management system, is not fulfilling its plan for production of output with the Mark of Quality. Moreover, throughout the whole city the proportion of output of the highest quality category in the total volume of production is -- for all practical purposes -- not increasing.

I would like to dwell once again on a very important matter -- the production of consumer goods. The CPSU Central Committee examined this problem specially this year and established an additional assignment for each republic, including a total of 209 million rubles for the Azerbaijan SSR. On the whole we produce about 5.5 billion rubles worth of consumer goods and according to 11-month results we met the plan. The comprehensive target program worked out in the 11th Five-Year Plan for expanding production of goods for the people envisioned raising their production by six percent. In light of this, we intend to overfulfill this assignment by more than 1.5 percent and produce 80 million rubles worth of these articles above and beyond the plan by finding additional possibilities for improving the assortment and quality of manufactured goods and by using local raw materials and production waste products widely. The industry of Baku is expected to make a large contribution to implementing this responsible task. In this connection it is especially intolerable for the gorkom, rayon party committees, and rayispolkoms to deal with the problems of increasing output, expanding its assortment, and improving the quality of consumer goods in a half-hearted manner. Production of these goods has been allowed to go down in recent years. There have been many complaints about the quality of manufactured articles. This year alone formal claims were made against 1,523 "Chinar" refrigerators and more than 40,000 garment items, 164,000 pairs of shoes, and many other kinds of products were reduced in quality grade or returned for repair of defects. Moreover, production of consumer goods at heavy industry enterprises continues to develop slowly; the share of consumer goods in the total volume of their output is less than one percent. Every year tens of millions of rubles worth of so-called "petty goods" are imported into Baku when, with proper interest and earnest party concern, their production could be organized at local enterprises.

One of the most important tasks of the gorkom and rayon committees is to correct the matter and insure a significant increase and allout improvement in



the quality of output produced and its technical level and to do everything possible to make sure that we are all proud of articles that bear the trademarks of Baku enterprises.

Petroleum and gas industry occupies and will always occupy an important place in the economy of the republic and of the city of Baku. City petroleum and gas extracting enterprises account for a significant amount of the total volume of petroleum and gas extraction in the republic. The Azneft' and Kasporneftegazprom associations overcame long-standing lags and, since the beginning of this year, have been fulfilling their plans for petroleum extraction. This positive progress is in many respects related to work done on technical re-equipping of sectors, improvement of equipment and technology for petroleum and gas extraction, and above all the discovery of promising new deposits. Nonetheless, it is still too early to speak of a fundamental turning point in the work of petroleum specialists. An especially difficult situation has developed in the Baku enterprises which are hundreds of thousands of tons of petroleum behind schedule since the start of the current five-year plan. Drilling enterprises, especially offshore ones, are working well below their potential.

A group of petroleum specialists from the offshore administration of exploratory drilling, which is putting new offshore drilling rigs into operation, appealed in a letter to the Central Committee of the Azerbaijan Communist Party. The letter sounded concern over the fact that this unique petroleum equipment is not being used efficiently because of many problems relating to material-technical supply and repair work. We discussed this problem at the Bureau of the Central Committee and it was determined that the management of the offshore exploratory drilling administration, the Kaspburneftegazprom Association, and the Kasporneftegazprom All-Union Production Association did not promptly adopt the necessary measures and did not present these problems to union organs. I think that in this problem we must be more persistent, send the contents of the letter by the offshore petroleum specialists to the leaders of the Ministry of Gas Industry, and ask them for effective aid.

In addition, the Baku gorkom and rayon committees are not thoroughly and properly studying the problems of petroleum and gas extraction and meeting the needs of the petroleum workers, production needs as well as social and domestic needs.

We absolutely must not tolerate a low level of engineering geological work on the stock of wells, frequent violations of drilling and extraction procedures, a high breakdown rate, cases of defective equipment, and irrational use of material-technical resources. To a large degree these things occur because the managers of Azneft' and Kasporneftegazprom have lowered the standards they demand from the subdivisions, the heads of the petroleum and gas extraction administration, the offshore exploratory drilling administrations, and others. And it must be added, incidentally, that the leaders of these associations themselves have shown low discipline.

As our scientists and specialists confirm, the petroleum and gas resources of Apsheron and the water basin of the Caspian Sea have a great deal of potential. Skillful exploitation of them will insure growth in fuel extraction for us.

This is a very important challenge, and to meet it the gorkom and raykoms of the party must strengthen their leadership of the petroleum and gas industry and render effective practical aid to petroleum workers and the primary party organizations of petroleum and gas extraction enterprises. And this work must be practical, prompt, and responsive to actual needs. Our duty, comrades, the duty of the entire republic party organization, is to apply maximum efforts to fulfill the tasks established by the CPSU Central Committee and Comrade Yu. V. Andropov in order to insure intensive development of this leading sector of the Azerbaijan economy.

The problem of efficient use of petroleum raw material continues to be a timely one. Quite a lot has been accomplished in this area at Baku petroleum refining plants through implementation of a large-scale program of fundamental reconstruction. And the results can be seen. Even with a relative decrease in the volume of petroleum refined, there has been growth in the production of petroleum output and many technical-economic indicators have been substantially improved. But they also have many unused reserves. We must direct serious criticism in this connection to our scientists and sectorial scientific research institutes.

The Baku gorkom and Shaumyanovskiy and Nizaminskiy raykoms of the party must wage a persistent struggle to complete the program of technical re-equipping of petroleum refineries and mobilize collectives of the sector to put unused capacities into use, sharply increase production volume and the extent of recovery of light petroleum products, and improve their assortment and quality.

All the petroleum machine building plants are concentrated in Baku, and this sector is called on to insure development and scientific-technical progress in the petroleum and gas industries. Despite the fact that the Soyuzneftemash Association has by and large fulfilled its five-year plan assignments for rates of growth in production volume and labor productivity, it must not be considered normal that four of its large plants -- imeni Lieutenant Shmidt, imeni Kirov, imeni Lenin, and Bakinskiy Rabochiy -- have allowed themselves to fall behind five-year plan guidelines. The association has also lost ground with respect to quality of output produced. A number of enterprises are not fulfilling the plan for production of articles in the highest quality category and are breaching plans for the primary assortment list and contract obligations. Time periods for expansion, reconstruction, and technical re-equipping of enterprises and mechanization and automation of production processes are being unjustifiably dragged out. As a result, 37 percent of the people working in this sector are engaged in unproductive manual labor. This is the virgin field in which the three scientific research institutes which are included in the association should work.

But unfortunately, these and other alarming cases have not received proper attention from either the Baku gorkom or from Narimanovskiy, Leninskiy, or other party raykoms.

The state of affairs in a number of other sectors arouses equal concern. These are sectors where the factors of intensive development of production are also not adequately utilized and where they are lagging behind the five-year plan

for production volume and labor productivity. At the present time the share of manual labor in the city's industry is 30 percent, while in construction it is even higher -- 50 percent. Less than 20 percent of primary and auxiliary production shops have integrated mechanization and automation. The capacities of most production lines are less than half used.

I must say directly that, in addition to economic managers, party committees also deserve a good share of the blame. They still are not demonstrating the proper purposefulness and persistence in work to improve engineering-technical supervision of production and are not promoting active utilization of all existing reserves and introduction of new equipment, technology, and progressive know-how.

Experience and analysis show that serious shortcomings in the economy are directly related to the condition of labor and production discipline. The Law on Labor Collectives and the decree of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Council of Ministers, and AUCCTU entitled "Intensification of Work to Strengthen Socialist Labor Discipline" outline a set of organizational and administrative-legal measures which are expected to significantly influence many aspects of our life and bolster organization and order. Much must be done for them to work well. After all, in the city's industry alone 13,000 workers are absent from the job without reason in the course of a year. Losses of work time each year total about 400,000 worker-days; more than one-third of them are absences with official permission and more than 37 percent are downtime. High personnel turnover is also disturbing; every year one-third of the city's industrial production personnel are replaced. All this disorganizes our production and harms it. Our challenge is to prevent these phenomena.

One of the most important lines of action in raising work efficiency in industry and involving the working people in production management is the brigade form of labor organization and stimulation. Nonetheless, the city's enterprises are not using it adequately at all, although this method guarantees high labor productivity and discipline. Certain party committees and economic managers who stand up for the new ways in their words, in fact are doing very little to implement them. At a number of enterprises the creation of brigades is only formalistic and preference is given to the quantitative aspect at the expense of the qualitative. At the Soyuzneftemash Association, for example, only 27 of the 694 brigades formed, which include 6,000 people, are on cost accounting. In the electrical engineering sector less than one-third of the 714 brigades work on the wages-based-on-final results system with distribution based on a labor participation factor and only 18 brigades are on cost accounting. The situation at enterprises of other industrial sectors is even worse. Revision of the structure and methods of work of party, Komsomol, and trade union organizations in light of the brigade form of labor organization is going slowly, and close integration of ideological, organizational, and economic activity is not always achieved. This, of course, reduces the effectiveness of this work. And this occurs, comrades, even though the Baku party gorkom held a special plenum on this matter in May 1982 and determined the tasks of the city party organization.

The Baku committee, party raykoms, and primary party organizations, guided by the recently-adopted decree of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Council of

Ministers, and AUCCTU, must develop broad organizational and mass political work aimed at further development and increased effectiveness of the brigade form of labor organization and payment. This is a significant reserve for successful fulfillment of the plans of the 11th Five-Year Plan.

Thus, comrades, the Baku committee and rayon party committees face a large and important task in the field of industry. And it consists primarily in the necessity of significantly strengthening party management of economic development and active participation in solving key problems and steadily raising the rate of production based on intensive factors, by introducing scientific-technical progress, mobilizing working people to search for and put into use all existing reserves, strengthening labor discipline by every means, and achieving good final results.

I especially want to dwell on the problems of capital construction, in particular housing. They were posed in very urgent terms at the 44th party conference. And although a certain amount of work was done in this area during the report period, still we must say directly that a fundamental turning point was not achieved. The planned rate of housing construction was not attained, plans for introducing housing space in the first three years were not fulfilled, and new housing space was 240,000 square meters short of plan. The number of families on the apartment roll in Baku rose by eight percent, reaching 46,400, and the amount of living space per inhabitant of the city is lower than the USSR level.

A large reserve for increasing the volume of housing construction is active enlistment of the personnel and means of our ministries, departments, and enterprises. The previous conference established this task for the Central Committee of the party. A special decree of the Central Committee and Council of Ministers of the republic was adopted. Nonetheless, neither the Baku party gorkom nor the Baku gorispolkom showed the proper interest and persistence in practical realization of it. They cooperated poorly with Gosplan, the ministries, and the departments of the republic and resolving questions of setting aside land for construction was unjustifiably dragged out. As a result, in 1982-1983 republic ministries and departments' allocations for capital investment were more than 25 million rubles short of what was needed for housing construction. This is equivalent to 170,000 square meters of housing space.

Another reserve for increasing housing construction that is being used inadequately is increasing the volume of in-house construction by departments which have contracting subdivisions in Baku. The decree of the Central Committee of the Azerbaijan Communist Party and the republic Council of Ministers defined practical assignments for them, but only the Ministry of Motor Vehicle Transport, and the Ministry of Internal Affairs are fulfilling them. Kasporneftegazprom and the Azerbaijan Railroad Line are increasing their volumes of housing construction. Each year the republic Ministry of Construction Industry fails to introduce even the rather small volume of housing planned. It is surprising that the ministry, with a large production base at its disposal in Baku, still has not established capacities here for manufacturing industrial construction articles in the city. Instead they import them from Sumgait, which involves, for one, unproductive transport expenditures and, for two, makes fulfillment of housing construction programs in Sumgait and other rayons of the republic more difficult. The Main Administration of Land Improvement and Water Management

Construction, the Ministry of Petroleum Refining and Petrochemical Industry, the Ministry of Food Industry, Bakutunnel'stroy [Baku Tunnel Construction], and Soyuzneftemash have not developed the proper volume of housing construction in Baku. The management of the Azneft' Association obviously underestimates the significance of this important problem and allowed volumes of housing construction to be reduced in the city, at a time when many petroleum workers themselves were in dire need of improved living conditions.

The previous conference sharply criticized the work of the primary contracting organization, Glavbakstroy [Main Administration for Construction in Baku]. The main administration failed to meet established assignments for all indicators in the first two years of the five-year plan and introduced substantially less housing space than was needed, which deprived more than 5,000 families of well-appointed new apartments. As you know, the Bureau of the Central Committee was obliged to intervene; it adopted a special decree, strengthened the management of Glavbakstroy, and gave it practical material-technical assistance.

This enabled the main administration to achieve growth in the volume of contract work and labor productivity and to insure fulfillment of the plan for introducing housing in the current year. The work of Home-Building Combine No 3 was significantly improved and the level of incorporation of its production capacities was raised.

I would also like to emphasize that the Baku gorkom and Baku gorispolkom did not show the proper purposefulness in implementing the Central Committee decree. For all practical purposes they failed to monitor reconstruction of enterprises of the city's construction industry and development of Home-Building Combine No 4. It is important for solving the problems of housing construction in Baku, yet its plans are being less than 40 percent fulfilled.

We must work seriously on the questions of high-rise construction in the city of Baku. We should convert to development of industrial-type frame and cast-in-situ construction. Housing development in the central part of the city and the large new housing areas requires 16-22 story buildings; they are important for solving architectural and city-planning problems. This will undoubtedly embellish our city further and make its appearance more expressive. It is time for the Bakgiprogor Institute to tackle this problem in earnest.

Party and Soviet organs in the city are doing an extremely poor job of studying the problems of faster incorporation of future large-scale housing construction areas such as Gyunashly, Ganlygel', and the development on Sovetskaya Ulitsa, which was unjustifiably delayed for many years. The headquarters established and headed by gorkom secretary Comrade Akhundov functions ineffectively and at this point has not worked out a precise plan for cooperation with the ministries and departments charged with doing this work.

Such an attitude toward housing construction does not give the opportunity to create the necessary backlog or to properly organize the flow of construction work in housing. And if energetic measures to correct the situation are not taken, it may once again lead to failure to fulfill plans for housing construction and downtime of home-building combines and other subdivisions of the construction industry.



Comrades!

The 44th Baku party conference noted with special urgency the unsatisfactory work of the city's housing operations organs. They talked of cases of abuse in filling apartments, using money allocated for capital repair of housing for unauthorized purposes, a callous attitude toward citizens, and the like. Then an inspection revealed that there were more than 1,600 unoccupied apartments in Baku in buildings that had been put into use in the preceding 1-2 years. Nonetheless, managers of the city's party and Soviet organs did not tackle this question in earnest; moreover, the situation became more complex. In early November of this year there were about 3,000 empty apartments in Baku. This was partly related to the fact that new buildings often lacked fundamental necessities for tenants. For example, there might be no access roads, which makes it impossible to lay out bus routes, or no telephone connections, pharmacies, or trade outlets. People may be unable to get drinking water for some time. The stream of complaints about these matters has increased significantly in recent times. Since Baku residents have not been given satisfactory answers they are forced to appeal to the Central Committee of the Azerbaijan Communist Party. The Central Committee receives 40-50 percent more such letters than the party gorkom does.

There continue to be many serious shortcomings in work to preserve housing resources. Each year more than 16 million rubles and a large amount of material resources are allocated to the Baku gorispolkom for these purposes. Nonetheless, comprehensive capital repair of buildings as it is practiced in the nation's other large cities -- with improvements in layout, modernization of apartments, and provision of appropriate utilities -- is not carried out in Baku. The volume of capital repair is accumulated chiefly through finishing work such as painting and whitewashing, which does not help prolong the life of buildings. Unscrupulous people frequently make their fortunes in this; the repair organizations always have a surplus of work force, whereas construction sites are chronically short of labor.

The situation with operation of housing is no better. Cases of interruptions of heat, water, gas, and electricity service to buildings are not unusual. The condition of apartments and utilities facilities are not generally inspected and no preventive repair and maintenance of them is performed. The decree of the Central Committee of the Azerbaijan Communist Party and the republic Council of Ministers which obliges the Baku gorispolkom and the Ministry of Housing and Municipal Services to set up comprehensive dispatcher services to monitor the work of utilities equipment in residential buildings is not being carried out well. Complaints from the population about breakdowns and defects in apartments are only answered after substantial delay, often only after an appeal to a higher party or Soviet organ.

And I would also like to take up yet another problem. The 44th Baku party conference proposed the task of eliminating abuses in exchanging apartments and strengthening the monitoring activity of party and Soviet organs, chiefly of the Baku gorispolkom, with respect to the housing exchange bureau's regulation of this whole matter.

In 1982 the republic Council of Ministers ratified a special instruction on the apartment exchange system which should eliminate the very possibility of abuses. Nonetheless, the exchange bureau is not disseminating these rules to all citizens as stated, and at times the rules are deliberately misrepresented for purposes of profit. One would have to be very callous and hard-hearted to refuse Comrade Kalashnikova, an invalid of the Great Patriotic War who has difficulty moving about because of her physical condition, an equivalent exchange of apartments in the same building, from the third floor to the first. At the same time Comrade Nazarov, director of the Baku Wood Particle Board Plant, six months after obtaining a cooperative apartment in Akhmedli Settlement, exchanged it for living space in the center of the city, in the Kaspar Building. Landlady Salimova actually bought a two-room apartment on South Vurguna Street through a three-stage exchange with persons living outside the republic, a fictitious marriage, and criminal machinations. Comrade Asadullayev, former chief of the Baku Administration of Refueling Stations who was expelled from the party for improper dealings, exchanged a two-room apartment in Mikrorayon No 3 for a three-room apartment in the center of the city. By the way, despite protests from rayon and city procurators, this doubtful exchange still has not been canceled. Unfortunately, many such examples could be cited. Izraylov, forwarding agent at the Kobu Pedigreed Stock Farm, moved into a four-room apartment near the Cinema imeni Nizami in violation of the established regulations. Gyul'mamedov, manager of the Inturist Restaurant, Dzhaferov, chief engineer at Grain Products Combine No 1, Shirinova, former senior commodity specialist at Azerbtorgodezhda, and others have exchanged their living space for apartments located in the center of the city. It is absolutely clear that these machinations are being carried on with participation by employees of the exchange bureau and the Baku gorispolkom. It is surprising that the inspection of the exchange bureau's work after the 44th conference and the abuses it disclosed did not lead to a principled evaluation of the situation by the city's party organs.

I would like to cite one more example which clearly attests to serious flaws in the work style and methods of the Baku party gorkom and Baku ispolkom and to the unscrupulousness of some of our managers who, while calling for observance of the law in their words, in practice are taking up the path of violating the law and abusing their official positions. As you recall, an outrageous incident of illegal exchange of a two-room apartment for a four-room departmental apartment was related at the last conference. The departmental apartment belonged to the Azneft' Association, and association chief Comrade B. Gadzhiyev and a number of responsible employees of the Baku gorispolkom played unseemly roles in the incident. And the apartment went to a certain Z. Rustamov, who at the time was chief of the investigative department for transportation of the Azerbaijan Administration of Internal Affairs of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs. He received a stylish apartment right in the center of Baku, on Neftyanikov Prospect, and twice as large as his previous one. But he obviously got it dishonestly. By the way, this was not the first of his apartment machinations. When receiving his previous apartment Rustamov was already resorting to fact-juggling and artificially enlarging the size of his family.

After the conference the Baku party gorkom seemed to react quite effectively to the criticism, following a discussion in early March 1981 of abuses permitted

in apartment exchanges. Rustamov was expelled from the CPSU and discharged from organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Other culprits in the deal were also punished: T. Suleyman-zade, chief of the Administration for Record-Keeping and Distribution of Housing Space, was expelled from the party and lost his job; G. Safarov, chief of the exchange bureau, G. Odzhadov, chief of the Administration of Internal Affairs for Transport, and B. Gadzhiyev, were punished within the party system.

It seemed that the matter was at an end. It was announced by the Central Committee of the Azerbaijan Communist Party that an illegal deal had been canceled and justice had, as they say, triumphed.

Almost three years have now passed, however. And a few days ago it was suddenly learned that, despite all the laws, Rustamov has once again moved into this apartment. And strange as it may seem, responsible employees from the republic's judicial organs, the office of the USSR Procurator, and the Baku gorispolkom helped him do it.

Comrade N. Akhmedov, chairman of the Baku gorispolkom, and Comrade V. Guseynov, former first secretary of the party gorkom, permitted a lack of principles and inconsistency. A decree of the BK [possibly Bureau of the Committee] on 10 March 1981 ordered the Baku gorispolkom and Azneft' to give this apartment to a regular petroleum worker who was in dire need of housing (incidentally, there are 3,000 others like him in the sector). But this completely fair and very intelligent decision remained only paper; for a long time the apartment stood empty, until Rustamov took advantage of this and moved in a second time.

Without the help of his patrons he would not have been able to lead certain USSR offices into confusion and twice get the USSR Procurator's office to appeal for the judicial decisions reached earlier to be set aside. And here is where individual employees of the Supreme Court showed obvious lack of principle. Falling under the sway of Rustamov's dishonest aspirations, they did not consider it necessary to look into the case thoroughly. The judicial collegium on civil matters, consisting of comrades R. Guseynova, R. Grigor'yan, and N. Khandzhanova, not going to the heart of the matter and neglecting the interests of justice, granted the appeal with incomprehensible haste and remanded the suit for a new hearing. The People's Court in Oktyabr'skiy Rayon, where the judge is Comrade T. Ismaylova, knowingly violated the law and adopted an unfounded order.

Throughout this whole story one cannot help but be surprised at what is, to be blunt, the non-party-minded attitude of Comrade N. Kh. Akhmedov, chairman of the Baku gorispolkom, Comrade V. M. Tehenin, his first deputy, and Comrade V. N. Bun'kin, chief of the Administration of Record-Keeping and Distribution of Housing. In literally just a few days the Baku gorispolkom sent the Baku gorkom a message with the very strange conclusion that "under the circumstances, appealing the judicial decision again would be hopeless." This is just splendid! Judge for yourself how the Baku Soviet, which is charged with defending the interests of the state in the name of the workers, looks in this affair. The legal question suggests itself: Why were the comrades on the Baku Soviet so compliant? It appears that the decision to cancel a self-serving exchange was not to someone's taste, and they were even glad at how the matter came out.



The Baku gorkom was completely in step with them. It took the message from the Baku gorispolkom under advisement. After consigning its own decision to oblivion, Comrade Guseynov sent this document to Comrade I. Plavskiy in the department of administrative organs, considering that this ended the matter.

I think that Comrade Gadzhiyev knew about all these events. As before, he continues to take the position of an outside observer, as if the subject were not housing for petroleum workers.

There is yet another side of the matter in the Rustamov story. With the appeal from the USSR Procurator's office and the decision of the Oktyabr'skiy Rayon People's Court in his hands, Rustamov quickly directed his next appeal to the Party Control Committee of the CPSU Central Committee, accusing everyone of prejudice and lack of objectivity in reaching the decision to expel him from the ranks of the party. For the information of participants at the conference, I want to report that as long ago as January 1982 the Party Control Committee, after a thorough review of Rustamov's previous appeal, affirmed the decision of the Central Committee of the Azerbaijan Communist Party and refused to change the decision of the Baku party gorkom which expelled him from CPSU membership for violating the norms of party morals, as evidenced by his self-serving apartment dealings.

This is the result of lack of principle in responsible employees who, like Rustamov, are inclined -- with an eye to profit -- to violate Soviet law in order to realize their own dirty aspirations. Unfortunately, not a single one of them stood up against this scandalous disgrace, in defense of the law and the interests of petroleum workers.

All this, comrades, should be an object lesson. We have now set up a commission of the Central Committee of the Azerbaijan Communist Party. This matter will be reviewed at the Bureau of the Central Committee, where there will be a stern, principled evaluation of the actions of those who fostered the illegal exchange and those who are enmeshed in this unseemly story.

The problem of supplying water to the population remains a pressing one. A great deal of work is being done in this direction. This was discussed in a report yesterday. But all these measures, which involve large capital expenditures, will not bring the desired result if the matter of utilization of drinking water in the city is not straightened out. More than 180,000 cubic meters of drinking water, which is one-third of the amount delivered to the population, is lost each day in the housing sector simply because of defective sanitary engineering equipment and the unsatisfactory condition of existing water mains. Problems of converting industrial enterprises to recycled water supply are not being resolved fast enough. During the report period the party gorkom adopted six decrees on this question; nonetheless, they were all superficial and, naturally, could not help improve matters.

The problem of transport service continues to be critical for Baku. The last conference determined practical ways to solve the problem. Placing the challenge of fundamentally improving the work of passenger transport in Baku before party, Soviet, and economic organs, it pointed out the necessity of a

comprehensive approach to solving the problem. Based on these demands, the Bureau of the Central Committee of the republic Communist Party in 1981 approved the "Comprehensive Transport Plan for Development of All Types of Urban Passenger Transport of Baku City and Apsheron for the Period 1981-1990." Taking account of economic and ecological factors and the general trend toward improvement in transport service to the population, it envisioned preferential development of electrical transport. Measures of the Baku party gorkom were also directed at this.

Nonetheless, analysis shows that a disproportion continues in the development of urban passenger transport. Passenger traffic in electrical transport has not increased at all; on the contrary, it has gone down. The metro has always been considered the standard of precision, comfort, and order. Unfortunately, in recent times service to the population by this form of transport has deteriorated significantly; incidents of violations of operating conditions, violations of the schedule, and canceling of trains have become more frequent. Rudeness to passengers and disturbances of public order are tolerated. The managers of the Baku Metro are doing a poor job dealing with the questions of strengthening the material-technical base, introducing new automation and remote control systems, and raising labor and production discipline in collectives.

New metro construction projects are going extremely slowly. Every year a great deal of lagging is tolerated in construction of the second line of the subway, which was supposed to be completed by the end of 1982. I think that the managers of the Baku Metro and of Baktonnel'sstroy [Baku Tunnel Construction] are drawing the proper conclusions.

A fundamental change in the activities of the city's electrical transport has not been achieved. Indicators for streetcar work have deteriorated significantly this year, schedules for trolleys are not being maintained, driver discipline is low, and rolling stock often comes out onto the line in poor sanitary condition.

As before, there have been many complaints from Baku residents about the work of bus transport. Case of late arrival on the line and early return to the motor pool are frequent, and there is still a great deal of confusion in paying for trips.

All these problems are very important; they affect hundreds of thousands of people in the capital. And it is the duty of the Baku party committee and the Baku gorispolkom to work tirelessly to create the most pleasant conditions possible for the life, labor, and recreation of the workers of our city.

Comrades! During the years of the 10th and 11th Five-Year Plans, in Baku and its suburban zone the area of green plantings has been increased by more than 10,000 hectares. At the present time it totals about 14,000 hectares, which is more than 20 square meters of green plantings per capita, as against 6.5 square meters in 1970. We note with satisfaction that by the efforts of our workers a truly large and noble job has been done. Nonetheless, now we must pose an even larger-scale challenge in this area.

It must not be said that everything is all right in landscape development. Suburban recreation zones are being created at a slow rate. At this point earth removal envisioned in the general plan for creating contemporary suburban parklands has not been done. There are no green plantings around many roads which traverse the Apsheron Peninsula in various directions. All is not well with maintenance, conservation, and irrigation of green plantings.

It is common knowledge that one of our richest collections of rare trees is located in the Park imeni Nizami, once one of the favorite recreation areas for Baku residents. It is located in Shumyanovskiy Rayon in the thick of the petroleum refineries. All the more reason that a solicitous attitude must be shown toward this green oasis. However, certain managers of the Bakugorispolkom are to blame for the fact that there are 14 organizations, including garages, located on park land which have no relationship at all to the tasks of park service. As a result only about five hectares of useable area remain out of 13. Two years ago the Bakugorispolkom adopted a decree to evict these organizations from park land and carry out major improvements. However the work was done in a very unsatisfactory manner.

The Bakugorispolkom and the Shaumyanovskiy party rayon and rayispolkom must deal in earnest with these problems, adopt measures and take all the planned steps to return this truly unique park to its former glory.

I would like to mention one other green area that has not had proper attention -- the Academy of Sciences Arboretum. Unfortunately, at the present time it is in extremely unsightly and neglected condition. How can this beautiful park, which should bring people joy and serve the purposes of science, be maintained in this way? The management of the Academy of Sciences, the Bakugorispolkom, and the Azizbekovskiy Party Raykom must take immediate and energetic measures to straighten things out there.

The party gorkom, the Bakugorispolkom, raykoms and rayispolkoms, and economic managers must intensify the pace of work on putting industrial grounds in order, restoring and recultivation of land, elimination of obsolete production at petroleum processing plants, and stopping environmental pollution. It is necessary to attempt to solve this important social problem on the basis of a precisely elaborated program so that all production collectives and the general public take a most active part in its realization.

Comrades! The Central Committee of the Azerbaijan Communist Party believes that providing Baku's workers with diverse goods and services is a very important task of party, Soviet, and economic organs. The accountability report dealt with what has been done in the field of services to the population.

At the same time I must say that the party gorkom and gorispolkom have not been able to properly mobilize party, Soviet, and economic organs to respond to critical observations expressed at the last party conference. Our city significantly lags behind capitals of a number of Union republics according to volume of commodity turnover and domestic services per resident. The plan for retail, commodity turnover is regularly underfulfilled; every third domestic service enterprise does not fulfill the plan and every fifth enterprise has a lower volume of services as compared to last year.

The party Gorkom has not properly organized fulfillment of the decree of the Central Committee of the Azerbaijan Communist Party and of their own decisions on questions of development of trade, public catering, and domestic services enterprises. Four times the Gorkom Bureau has discussed progress in fulfilling the decree of Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee and the republic's Council of Ministers from 16 July 1980 "On Measures for Strengthening the Material-Technical Base of Fruit and Vegetable Trade in the City of Baku;" however, construction of three vegetable bases out of eight has not yet been completed even though their introduction was envisioned in 1982.

It is well known how important the development of subsidiary farms at enterprises is in light of the demands of the May 1982 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the Food Program. The party gorkom has adopted more than one decree obliging managers to set up agrarian shops at enterprises. Nonetheless, all these decisions were not reinforced by practical organization of the matter, and no effective monitoring of their fulfillment was established. As a result many of the city's enterprises have not set up subsidiary farms at this point, and where they are already in operation, their contribution to replenishing food resources is still very small. For example managers of petroleum machine building enterprises, where not a single meat-producing farm has been set up, approached the organization of subsidiary farms without proper responsibility. Measures for creating subsidiary farms are not being adopted at a number of enterprises of other sectors of industry also. It has been two years since the subsidiary farm was organized at the Baku Domestic Air Conditioner Plant. On the whole it is a good farm. But they mainly raise vegetables and flowers, and in two years the sale of meat per plant worker amounted to less than three kilograms. When subsidiary farms were set up at the Azerelektromash, Azerelektroterm, and other associations the same path was taken.

The Central Committee of the Azerbaijan Communist Party has more than once warned managers that they must not be carried away with raising vegetables and flowers, since we are not in particular need of them. We must create subsidiary meat and dairy farms to satisfy the needs of worker dining halls and children's institutions, and to sell to workers at enterprises. When creating subsidiary farms we should not be oriented to development of poultry farming either, since opportunities for satisfying their feed requirements from state reserves are limited. In Apsheron we have quite a large amount of unused, abandoned land which must be brought back into use through the efforts of enterprises, improved, and used to establish our own feed base. Waste food from public catering and food industry enterprises must be more widely used for these purposes also.

I think it would be proper to pose this challenge to the gorkom and party raykoms: 2-3 years every industrial enterprise, when possible, should have its own subsidiary farm or "agroshop," as they are still called. Economic managers, who evade this important matter, must be held strictly responsible.

The Baku Party Gorkom and Baku gorispolkom must in this regard organize close contacts with the Apsheronskiy Party Raykom and enlist interested ministries and departments. In my opinion, it would be proper for the Council of

Ministries and the Central Committee to seriously consider the question of planned use of suburban agricultural enterprises for improving the supply of all agricultural products to workers of the city of Baku on the basis of Apsheronskiy Rayon.

The decree of the Central Committee of the Azerbaijan Communist Party and the republic Council of Ministers on improving the material-technical base of domestic services to the population posed practical challenges for the gorkom and party raykoms. A comprehensive plan for development of domestic services was worked out to implement the decree, but because it was not properly gone through with the actual performers and was not supported by appropriate technical-economic calculations, the planned measures remained on paper only. As a result, existing disproportions in the distribution of domestic service enterprises, the majority of which are concentrated in the center of the city, are being eliminated slowly; the number of such enterprises on the outskirts and at new housing developments is extremely inadequate. The Shaumyanovskiy and Narimanovskiy party raykoms have now shown valuable initiative in setting up domestic services enterprises at every industrial enterprise. It would be a good thing if this initiative found broad support in all the rayons of Baku. The party gorkom and Baku gorispolkom, together with interested ministries and departments, must examine the set of issues involved in improving trade and domestic services and outline and implement measures which will make it possible by 1984-1985 to make up the lag in development of these sectors.

Much of the blame for the serious shortcomings in city and municipal services and sluggishness in solving numerous problems which are vitally important to the city belongs to Baku gorispolkom executives comrades N. Akhmedov, V. Techenin, M. Aliyev, D. Avetisov, S. Aliyev, V. Akhundov, and R. Makili. The ispolkom of the Baku Soviet has repeatedly adopted decrees on the same issues and monitors their implementation poorly. A gap between words and deeds is typical of the Baku gorispolkom executives, and at times they unjustifiably devote a great deal of time to particular problems and projects which are by no means of primary importance. Red tape, bureaucratism, and a callous attitude toward the requests of the city's working people are tolerated in the activities of the ispolkom apparat and in subdivisions subordinate to it. Unfortunately, these matters have not been given a principled evaluation by the Baku city party committee. The yield and efficiency of the work of the numerous subdivisions and administrations of the Baku ispolkom should be thoroughly examined. Ispolkom executives must draw the most serious conclusions, fundamentally reorganize the work, and increase the role and significance of the Baku City Executive Committee of People's Deputies as a collective governmental body.

Comrades! The June Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee defined precise ways and means for further improvement of ideological work and strengthening its impact on the masses. Our main challenge here is to insure unconditional fulfillment of its decisions and see that ideological indoctrination work turns firmly in the direction of practical tasks. We must give this work the essential purpose and vigor.

The city of Baku has enormous ideological potential at its disposal; an absolute majority of our ideological institutions and organizations are concentrated



here. In short, Baku has all necessary conditions for raising the effectiveness of ideological and mass political work.

In this connection I want to draw your attention to shortcomings in the organization of ideological work in Baku. They have been discussed repeatedly on all levels. Suffice it to say that certain aspects of ideological work have been discussed more than 60 times at meetings of the party gorkom bureau alone. But the results from this have been insignificant. And this is explained primarily by the fact that they were examined superficially, without an in-depth study of the local situation. Often the examination is mostly for external effect.

The gorkom took a formalistic attitude toward organizing fulfillment of the plan for cultural services to the population of Baku in 1982-1985. No one is monitoring progress in implementing it, and as a result many useful ideas remain on paper.

The Baku gorkom and party raykoms have not given the proper attention to problems of developing the material base of cultural-educational institutions, and problems of cultural services in the new housing developments and the communities of Akhmedly and Vos'moy Kilometr have not been resolved. The condition of work by clubs in worker communities arouses particular concern. Many of them do practically nothing at all but show films and put on occasional lectures. Some clubs are headed by poorly qualified and unenterprising employees with no special education. There is no excuse for the fact that only a few cultural-sport complexes have been built in the city. We need a significant strengthening of creative contacts and business-like working relations between party committees and the artistic community. Report-election meetings were held recently in the Ministry of Culture, the State Committee for Cinematography, creative councils, theaters, and artistic collectives, as they were in all organizations in the city. Nonetheless, to our great surprise, not one of the secretaries of the party gorkom and not one responsible employee of the Baku committee apparat took part in them. Moreover, party meetings were not held on the proper ideological-political level in all places. But surely communists had things to say to representatives of the city's party organizations and, on the other hand, the Baku party gorkom should have expressed its own attitude toward the pressing problems of further improving work in this important area.

Let us take, for example, a facet of ethical indoctrination of workers such as cooperation of creative councils and cultural and artistic institutions with industrial enterprises based on bilateral contracts. We all know that the best theaters and musical performing collectives in Moscow and Leningrad cooperate actively with worker collectives, make representatives of these collectives members of artistic councils, invite them to their premieres, and perform right in the labor collectives. Unfortunately, this form of cooperation has not become properly widespread among us. And for this we can blame not only the Ministry of Culture, creative councils, and theaters, but also the gorkom and party raykoms.

In recent times we have repeatedly criticized the State Committee for Cinematography and other organizations responsible for supplying film services to

the people of Baku. Shortcomings in this area are really quite significant. I want to focus your attention on just one problem. Baku residents remember well the pleasure they once felt when going to the movie theaters imeni Nizami, Azerbaijan, Araz, Vetan, and others. But now unsanitary conditions prevail in these once popular movie theaters and the quality of films presented does not stand up to any criticism at all. Speculators often intercept movie-goers on the approach to the theater, an artificial excitement is specially created, and then the theater turns out to be only half full and shows often begin late. I do not think that responsible comrades from the State Committee for Cinematography and the corresponding rayon party committees are unaware of these shocking things. But they are not taking effective steps to stop them.

The Baku gorkom and party rayon committees should work resolutely to improve party management of the process of communist indoctrination of workers and all ideological work, overcome formalism in this matter more actively, deal with the urgent problems which life itself places before us, and provide organizational support for implementation of decisions that have been made. Special attention should be given to the problems of indoctrinating young people. The broadest experience of party veterans must be utilized, as Comrade Yu. V. Andropov discussed in detail at the meeting with them in the CPSU Central Committee. Our duty, comrades, is to convert the city of Baku into a city of progressive know-how in ideological indoctrination work, a city of truly high political sophistication among working people.

Let me say a few words about the work of administrative organs. To be sure, a great deal has been accomplished since the 44th city conference. The city's law enforcement organs have intensified work to strengthen legality and protect the rights and interests of citizens and have stepped up the struggle against all kinds of negative phenomena. In many respects, this has been promoted by implementation of the steps outlined in the decree of the Central Committee of the Azerbaijan Communist Party on Narimanovskiy Rayon which, as you remember, found full approval and broad response in public opinion.

But the Baku gorkom and party raykoms still are not doing consistent, meticulous, and purposeful work, and the steps being taken in the struggle against legal offenders have not had the needed impact. On the whole the operational situation in Baku and in a number of its rayons disturbs us. We cannot tolerate the fact that the number of crimes is rising, and 40 percent of them are serious crimes. In the last three years one-fifth of the people who committed crimes were not employed anywhere, and many of them were malicious parasites. The struggle against misappropriation of socialist property, bribery, and speculation is not being waged effectively. Party and Komsomol organs are doing a half-hearted job of enlisting public organizations in the fight against legal offenses. As before, there are many serious shortcomings in the work of the militia, procurator, and judicial organs. Unfortunately, there are employees in these organs who themselves abuse their official positions and break laws. We have sent a large number of party, Soviet, and Komsomol employees and the best representatives of labor collectives to administrative organs.

All this demands a much greater party influence on the activities of the administrative organs and a fundamental improvement of personnel work so that

every employee of the procurator's office, the militia, and the people's courts will truly set an example of irreproachable performance of service duty.

Comrades! Meeting the great and innovative challenges posed by the November and June Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee requires increasing the efficiency and quality of work by party committees and primary party organizations, improving the style and methods of their activity, and confirming on all levels the business-like, creative style permeated with high ideological content and implacable hostility to everything that is backward and in conflict with the precepts of socialist morality and our collectivist way of life.

We must always remember that the main thing in party leadership is not holding meetings and passing numerous decisions, but the ability to organize work in a practical way. Our work with personnel must be aimed primarily at raising performance discipline and increasing responsibility to the party and the people for the assigned work sector. Confirmation of the Leninist style of leadership is one of the most important prerequisites for successful implementation of our party's economic and social policy and conduct of communist indoctrination; the work practices of the party gorkom, party raykoms, and primary party organizations should be examined from this point of view. Discussion by the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Azerbaijan Communist Party of the problem of the work style and methods of the Baku party gorkom showed that the level of organizational and ideological-political activity of the gorkom and certain rayon party committees does not completely satisfy the demands being made. The superficial approach and inertia of the city party committee in solving key problems of development of the city's economy, its formalism in work, its indulgent attitude toward shortcomings, the lack of principle and vigor in evaluating them, and their violations of the principle of collective decision-making have significantly harmed the work. Serious miscalculations were made in the management of rayon party committees, on which the gorkom did not adequately rely when solving many important problems. The style of the party gorkom was characterized by a fetish for producing papers and holding meetings, but at the same time many important problems of party organizational and ideological work were overlooked.

The Bureau of the Central Committee of the Azerbaijan Communist Party made serious charges against the leaders of the Baku gorkom of the party for flagrant offenses and shortcomings in deciding personnel matters. In selection of personnel their work and moral-political qualities were not always fully considered, and unscrupulousness and subjectivism often appeared. The rate of personnel turnover was unjustifiably high. The replacement rate for personnel of the party gorkom apparat was unjustifiably high. In a short time more than 80 percent of its staff was replaced, as well as five of seven department heads and eight of nine deputy department heads. And a significant share of the new employees proved to be immature, incompetent people who were unfamiliar with practical party work, lacked adequate experience of life, and had not received ideological tempering in labor collectives.

A substantial share of the responsibility for many shortcomings, especially in deciding personnel matters, also belongs to comrades L. A. Sokolov, A. N. Abbasov, and T. D. Akhundov, members of the bureau of the Baku party gorkom



and secretaries of the BK who, most unfortunately, took an unprincipled stand. Serious charges should also be made against Comrade N. Kh. Akhmedov, also a member of the bureau of the party gorkom and chairman of the gorispolkom, a man who has been in party work for some time. After all, these men have been given great authority and rights, and this means that they are completely responsible for the state of affairs in the city party organization.

All this, of course, had an extremely negative effect on the level of work of the entire apparatus of the party gorkom. Party etiquette and the subordination system were frequently violated; there were cases where personnel matters were decided without consulting the secretaries and department heads. Their opinions were ignored, and performance discipline was seriously weakened.

The new membership of the party gorkom and its bureau and secretaries must draw the most serious conclusions from the decision of the Central Committee of the Azerbaijan Communist Party to eliminate existing shortcomings as quickly as possible and insure implementation of the measures outlined in the Central Committee decree. The task is to make sure that a genuine Leninist, creative style of work is consistently established in everyday practice. It is necessary that the whole style of work of the city party organization reliably guarantee strict observance of the norms of party life, further development of intraparty democracy, criticism, and self-criticism, initiative and responsibility among communists, and active participation by them in working out and implementing decisions. Improving the style of activities by party committees must always be based on the most important thing in leadership -- not holding meetings and adopting large numbers of decrees, but, as V. I. Lenin taught, the "ability to organize in a practical way."

Soon, comrades, we will embark on the fourth year of the 11th Five-Year Plan. It is very important now to focus the attention of communists and of all working people on preparing to work smoothly from the first days of 1984.

Exemplary preparation for and conduct of elections to the USSR Supreme Soviet, a very important political campaign, is an important task for the republic's party organization and party obkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms. As the decree of the CPSU Central Committee emphasizes, this campaign should be conducted under the slogans of further development of people's power, strengthening the bloc of party and non-party members, even broader involvement of citizens in management of state and public affairs, and stepping up the labor and political activism of the Soviet people in the struggle to carry out the decisions of the 26th party congress and subsequent Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee.

Thus, comrades, yesterday and today we have conducted a practical, principled, and concerned discussion of the work of the city party organization. Many interesting and important critical remarks and constructive suggestions have been made. All of them, of course, should be studied in the most meticulous way and serve as the basis for decisions of the conference and the practical activities of the city party organization.

Allow me to express my firm belief that the famed Baku party organization and the communists of the city of Baku, loyal to their international traditions,

will achieve great things in carrying out the historic plans of the 26th party congress and subsequent Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee and the decisions of the 30th Congress of the Azerbaijan Communist Party and will do everything possible to successfully fulfill all the tasks posed by the party for the party organization of the capital of Azerbaijan. (Applause).

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## REGIONAL

### BRIEFS

**AZERBAIJAN TRADE UNIONS SEMINAR**--The regional seminar of the chairmen of trade unions, which has been organized by the Azerbaijan Trade Unions Council, has begun its work in Sheki. Representatives of trade union committees from (Kakh), Zakataly, (Bolachan), Sheki, (Vartachen), and (Puskashe) Rayons are participating the 3-day meeting. The meeting was opened by Kadyr Radzhapov, first secretary of the Sheki City Party Committee. Ismailov, representative of the republic committee of the weaving and wool industry workers trade union, addressed the meeting on the role of social security in the further upgrading of the welfare of Soviet peoples. Aliyev, who is the representative of the republic committee of the food industry workers trade union, addressed the meeting on the role of trade unions in the realizaiton of the decisions made by the latest plenums of the party and the fulfillment of the provisions program. (Levkalayev), who is the representative of the republic committee of the vehicle transportation workers trade union, addressed the meeting on the topic: "The December 1983 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee is a New Stage in Realizing the Decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress." During the second half of the day, the participants of the seminar meeting visited [words indistinct] establishments and conferred with leading workers. [Text] [GF091315 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0205 GMT 9 Feb 84]

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